

THE RECIPROCAL IN XHOSA

BY

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DECLARATION

I the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any University for a degree.

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SUMMARY

This work explores the interrelated morpho-phonological, syntactic and semantic features of the affix -AN- as a reciprocal affix in Xhosa.

Chapter II examines the way in which some previous studies on this reciprocal affix -AN- have been handled by earlier grammarians.

Chapter III aims at exploring the syntactic and semantic features of the derivative verb stems with -AN-.

Chapter IV is a summary of the work done both in syntax and semantics of reciprocal verbs.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie werk ondersoek die interrelasie van die morfo-fonologiese, sintaktiese en semantiese kenmerke van die byvoegsel -AN- as 'n wederkerige morfeem in Xhosa.

Hoofstuk II ondersoek die manier waarop 'n aantal vorige studies oor hierdie wederkerige byvoegsel -AN- deur vorige grammatikas behandel is.

Hoofstuk III beoog om die sintaktiese en semantiese kenmerke van die afgeleide werkwoordstamme met -AN- te ondersoek.

Hoofstuk IV is 'n opsomming van die werk gedoen in beide sintaksis en semantiek van resiprokale werkwoorde.

CONTENTS	PAGE
CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION.....	1
I. Aim.....	1
II. Methods.....	1
CHAPTER II : SOME PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE RECIPROCAL -AN- IN XHOSA.....	12
2. Introduction.....	12
2.1 The reciprocal.....	12
2.1.1 Pahl.....	14
2.1.2 Satyo.....	15
2.1.3 Wilkes.....	15
2.1.4 Satyo, Wilkes & Pahl.....	16
2.1.5 Summary	26
CHAPTER III : THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS	29
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.1.1 Principles of the theory of binding	29
3.1.2 Syntactic Binding.....	34
3.1.3 Argument Binding.....	35
3.2 The morphology of reciprocal verbs.....	36
3.2.1 Hierarchical Structure of the Verb with Suffixes....	39
3.3 The syntax of reciprocal constructions in Xhosa.....	40
3.3.1 Aim.....	40
3.3.2 Semantic interpretation.....	42
3.4 Transitive verbs.....	46
3.4.1 Reciprocal verbs only.....	48
3.4.2 Reciprocal verbs with objects.....	52
3.4.3 Reciprocal verbs with NA- complements.....	55
3.4.4 Reciprocal verbs with infinitives.....	62
3.4.5 Reciprocal verbs with NGA complement.....	64
3.4.6 Reciprocal verbs with locative complement.....	66
3.4.7 Summary of 3.4.1 - 3.4.6.....	68
3.5 Double object verbs.....	68
3.5.1 Reciprocal verbs only.....	74
3.5.2 Reciprocal verbs with nominal complements.....	76
3.5.3 Reciprocal verbs with NA - complements.....	80
3.5.4 Reciprocal verbs with infinitives.....	87
3.5.5 Reciprocal verbs with NGA- complements.....	90

3.5.6	Reciprocal verbs with locative complements.....	91
3.5.7	Summary of 3.5.1 - 3.5.6.....	92
3.6	Intransitive verbs	94
3.6.1	Reciprocal verb only	94
3.6.2	Reciprocal verbs with object/nominal complements...	96
3.6.3	+ NA complements.....	97
3.6.4	+ Infinitives.....	99
3.6.5	+ NGA - complements	99
3.6.6	+ Locative complements.....	100
3.6.7	Summary 3.4.1 - 3.4.6.....	101
3.7	Chapter Summary	102
CHAPTER IV	SUMMARY	106
4.1	Syntax	106
4.1.1	Reciprocal verbs only : Transitive verbs.....	106
4.1.2	Reciprocal verbs only : Double object verbs.....	107
4.1.3	Reciprocal verbs only : Intransitive verbs.....	107
4.2	Reciprocal verbs with Objects	108
4.2.1	Reciprocal verbs with -NA- complements.....	111
4.2.2	Reciprocal verbs with Infinitives.....	112
4.2.3	Reciprocal verbs with -NGA- complements.....	113
4.2.4	Reciprocal Verbs ith Locative Compliments.....	114
4.3	Reciprocal verbs with Nominal complements	114
4.3.1	Reciprocal verbs with -NA- complements.....	115
4.3.2	Reciprocal verbs with Infinitives.....	115
4.3.3	Reciprocal verbs with -NGA- complements.....	116
4.3.4	Reciprocal verbs with Locative complements.....	116
4.4	Reciprocal verbs with Objects or Nominal complements	117
4.4.1	+ NA complements.....	118
4.4.2	+ Infinitives.....	119
4.4.3	+ NGA complements.....	119
4.4.4	+ Locative complements.....	120
4.4.5	Summary of 4.1.1 - 4.4.4	120
4.5	Semantics of -AN-	121
4.5.1	Main Hypothesis	121
4.5.2	Second Hypothesis.....	123
BIBLIOGRAPHY		125

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I AIM:

The aim of this study is three fold:

- a. To consider the overall view of the literature on the reciprocal in Xhosa.
- b. To consider the syntax of reciprocal construction
- c. To consider the semantics of reciprocal construction.

II. METHOD

In this work transitive verbs, double object verbs and intransitive verbs are considered in different syntactic structures in order to find out in which structures reciprocal verbs may be used to identify the problems encountered in some structures i.e. their syntactic and semantic differences.

The following types of structures will be used:

- a. Reciprocal verbs only
- b. Reciprocal verbs with objects
- c. Reciprocal verbs with NA-complements
- d. Reciprocal verbs with infinitives
- e. Reciprocal verbs with NGA - complements
- f. Reciprocal verbs with locative complements

Examples for each of these types of structures containing singular and plural subjects are as follows:

a. Reciprocal verbs only

i)* Umfundi uyakhabana

The student SC - kick + REC

'The student kicks each other'

ii) Abafundi bayakhabana

The students SC - kick + REC

'The students kick each other'

b. Reciprocal verbs with objects

i)* Umfundi ubonana iinwele

The student SC - see + REC the hair

The student sees each others hair'

ii) Abafundi babonana iinwele

The student SC - see - kick + REC

'The students see each others hair'

c. Reciprocal verbs with -NA- complement

i) Umfundi ukhabana nomdlali

The student SC - kick + REC with the player

'The student and the player kick each other'

ii) Abafundi bakhabana nabadlali

The students SC - kick + REC with the players

'The students and the players kick one another'

d. Reciprocal verbs with infinitives

i) * Umfundi ubonana ukucoeka

The student SC - see + REC cleanliness

'The student see one another's cleanliness'

ii) Abafundi babonana ukucoeka

The students SC - see + REC cleanliness

'The students see each other's cleanliness'

e. Reciprocal verbs with -NGA- complement

i) * Umfundi ubonana ngamehlo

The student SC see + REC with eyes

'The student see one another by means of eyes'

ii) Abafundi babonana ngamehlo

The students SC - see + REC with eyes

'The students see one another by means of eyes'

f. Reciprocal verbs with locative complement

i) * Umfundi ubonana esikolweni

The student SC see + REC at school

'The student see one another at school'

ii) Abafundi babonana esikolweni

The students SC - see + REC at school

'The students see one another at school'

The table below is of help in the explanation of the method used in considering the different verbs in different types of structures as stated above. Each verb has been used with a subject in the singular as well as in the plural, or mass nouns, and / or co-ordinated subject and object thus:

A SUBJECT		COMPLEMENT
1. SINGULAR		1 OBJECT
a + L(iving)		a + L
b - L		b - L
		2 NA + NP
		a + L
		b - L
2. PLURAL/MASS NOUNS		3. INFINITIVE
a + L		4. -NGA-
b - L		5. LOCATIVE
		6. NO OBJECT
B SUBJECT		COMPLEMENT
1 a	+	1 a
		1 b
		2 a
		2 b
1 b	+	1 a
		1 b
		2 a
		2 b
2 a	+	3
		4
		5
		6
2 b	+	3
		4
		5
		6

Each and every verb of the three types of verbs to be considered i.e. transitive, double - object and intransitive verbs, will be tested against the structures above. The following examples will, at times be the result of such tests:

1. 1a + 1a (+L +L)

Both the subject and the object should have an animate semantic feature, with the subject in the singular thus:

Inkomo ikhabana ithole

The cow SC - kick + REC the calf

'The cow kicks the calf continuously'

The above example illustrates a sentence with a durative semantic meaning since the subject is engaged in a process in a continuous manner.

2. 1a + 1b (+L -L)

The subject must have an animate semantic feature whereas the object must have a [- animate] semantic feature, with the subject in the singular thus:

Inkwenkwe ikhabana ibhola

The boy SC - kick + REC the ball

'The boy kicks the ball continuously'

This example also has a durative semantic meaning, with the subject engaged in a process in a continuous manner.

3. 1a + 2a (+L +L) NA + NP

The subject in this structure should be in the singular. Both the subject and the object must have an animate semantic feature with NA + NP thus:

Inkomo ikhabana nethole

The cow SC kick + REC with the calf

'The cow and the calf kick each other'

The above example expresses the meaning of mutual relationship, therefore it is reciprocal.

4. 1a + 2b (+L -L) NA + NP

This structure should have a singular subject, with an animate semantic feature whilst the object should have a [- animate] semantic feature with NA + NP thus:

Inkwenkwe ikhabana nebholo

The boy SC - kick + REC and the ball

'The boy kicks the ball continuously'

This example is then different from the other one above, due to the [- animate] semantic feature of the object. This difference then, makes the subject to be engaged in a process in a continuous manner, and therefore the sentence has a durative meaning.

5. 1b + 1a (-L +L)

The subject should be in the singular with a [-animate] semantic feature and an object should have an animate semantic features thus:

* Ibhola ikhabana inkwenkwe

The ball SC - kick + REC - the boy

'The ball kicks the boy continuously'

The above example has a durative meaning, but grammatically incorrect, and not acceptable in Xhosa due to the [-animate] semantic feature of the subject.

6. 1b + 1b (-L -L)

Both the subject and the object should have a [-animate] semantic feature with the subject in the singular thus:

* Ipali ikhabana ibhola

The pole SC - kick + REC - the ball

'The pole kicks the ball continuously'

The [-animate] semantic features of the subject and object in the above example have made this sentence to be totally unacceptable in Xhosa, so it is grammatically incorrect.

7. 1b. + 2a (-L + L) NA + NP

The subject should be in the singular with a [-animate] semantic feature, whilst the object should also be in the singular, but with an animate semantic feature with NA + NP thus:

* Ibhola ikhabana nenkwenkwe

The ball SC - kick + REC with the boy

'The ball and the boy kick each other'

The above example is again grammatically incorrect.

8. 1b. + 2b. (-L -L) NA + NP

The subject should be in the singular and both the subject and the object should have an [-animate] semantic feature with NA + NP thus:

* Ipali ikhabana nebhola

The pole SC - kick + REC with the ball

'The pole and the ball kick each other'

The above example again presents a grammatically incorrect sentence.

9. 2a + 3 (+L +INFIN)

The subject should be in the plural or mass nouns with an animate semantic feature, and with infinitives thus:

* La makhwenkwe akhabana ukubulalana

These boys SC-kick + REC to kill each other

'These boys kick each other to kill each other'

This example also presents a grammatically incorrect sentence, but with a reciprocal meaning.

10. 2a. + 4 (+L +NGA)

The subject should be in the plural with an animate semantic feature and a NGA complement, thus:

La makhwenkwe akhabana ngeenyawo

These boys SC-kick + REC with feet

'These boys kick each other by means of feet'

The sentence above produces a sentence with a reciprocal meaning.

11. 2a + 5 (+L +LOC)

The subject should be in the plural with an animate semantic feature and locative thus:

La makhwenkwe akhabana ebaleni

These boys SC - kick + REC in the field

'These boys kick each other in the field'

The sentence above has a reciprocal meaning.

12. 2a + 6 (+L +NO OBJ)

The subject should be in the plural with an animate semantic feature and with no object thus:

La makhwenkwe ayakhabana

These boys SC - kick + REC

'These boys kick each other'

The sentence above illustrates a mutual relationship, therefore it has a reciprocal meaning.

13. 2b. + 3 (-L + INFIN)

The subject should be in the plural or mass nouns with a
[- animate] semantic feature and with infinitive thus:

* Iipali zikhabana ukophulana

The poles SC kick + REC to break each other

'The poles kick each other to break each other'

This example is grammatically incorrect, but has a reciprocal meaning.

14. 2b + 4 (-L + NGA)

The subject should be in the plural or mass nouns with a
[- animate] semantic feature and with a NGA-complement thus:

* Iipali zikhabana ngamandla

The poles SC-kick + REC - forcefully

'The poles kick each other forcefully'

The sentence above represents a grammatically incorrect sentence.

15. 2b. + 5 (-L + LOC)

The subject should be in the plural or mass nouns, with a
[- animate] semantic feature and with a locative complement thus:-

* Iipali zikhabana ukophulana

The poles SC kick + REC in the field

'The poles kick each other in the field'

The example above also constitutes a sentence which is grammatically incorrect.

16. 2b + b (-L + NO OBJ)

The subject should be in the plural with an [-animate] semantic feature, and with no object thus:

* Iipali ziyakhabana

The poles SC kick + REC

' The poles kick each other'

The sentence above is grammatically incorrect, and therefore not acceptable in Xhosa.

The above structures are repeated with verbs from each of the three verb groups we are considering i.e. the transitive, the double-object and the intransitive verbs, so as to ascertain which verbs are compatible with the reciprocal, and in which structures, and to find out which verbs are not compatible with the reciprocal, and in which structures, and the different kinds of problems they create.

CHAPTER II

SOME PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE RECIPROCAL AFFIX - AN - IN XHOSA

2. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the way in which some previous studies on the reciprocal affix -AN- have been handled by earlier grammarians. Bantu grammarians have been intrigued by the phenomenon of the extended verb stem in virtually all the Bantu languages. As -AN- is generally referred to as the reciprocal extension, this gives the impression that whenever -AN- is used, the meaning of 'reciprocity' is realised.

A few Bantuists have realised the misconception of associating a term with a morphological form. This chapter therefore aims at showing what the earlier writers say about this extension, -AN-, putting much emphasis on the major meaning, that of reciprocity in Xhosa.

2.1 The Reciprocal Extension - AN -

The reciprocal form of the verb has the suffix -AN- and indicates that the action signified by the simple stem is carried out mutually by two individuals or groups of things. It therefore expresses the equivalent of the English "each other" or "one another":

- rata (love)	- ratana (love each other)
- ruta (teach)	- rutana (teach each other)
- utlwa (hear)	- utlwana (hear each other)
- ja (eat)	- jana (eat each other)
- lwa (fight)	- lwana (fight each other)

Cole (1979 : 209)

According to Pahl (1970 : 395) the extensions are verbal suffixes that are affixed to verbal roots in order to "add flexibility to the verb in respect of its application" (Cantrel (1967) in his thesis on Verb Radicals and Extensions), e.g. performing the action of the root reciprocally, doing something for a person, purpose or reason, moving towards or away from some place, causing someone or something to perform the action of the root, etc. In many languages these aspects of application are expressed by means of prepositions or auxiliary verbs, in Xhosa they are effected by means of suffixal extensions to verbal roots:

to hit - ukubetha	: to hit each other - ukubethana
to cause to hit - ukubethisa	: to be beaten - ukubethwa
to see - ukubona	: to see each other - ukubonana
to cause to see - ukubonisa	: to be seen - ukubonwa
to love - ukuthanda	: to love each other - ukuthandana
to cause to love - ukuthandisa	: to be loved - ukuthandwa
to wash - ukuhlamba	: to wash each other - ukuhlambana
to cause to wash - ukuhlambisa	: to be washed - ukuhlanjwa
to hear - ukuva	: to hear each other - ukuvana
to cause to hear - ukuvisa	: to be heard - ukuviwa (1)

There are however previous studies on the verbal extensions. Grammarians such as H.W. Pahl, S.C Satyo, A Wilkes and others contributed significantly to the description of the verb and its extensions including the reciprocal -AN- in Xhosa and Zulu, respectively.

2.1.1 Pahl

Pahl's views about the reciprocal use of -AN- are nothing new in Bantu Grammar. In his article in Fort Hare papers (1978) *The Function of the Verbal extensions in Xhosa* (vol.6) he treats the reciprocal extension -AN- by stating that it is added to the root of the verb, for example:

ukufuna - to seek : ukufunana - to seek each other

Pahl explains that the primary function of the reciprocal extension is to convert a verb stem into one that denotes reciprocal action, for example:

ukubona - to see : ukubonana - to see each other

ukubetha - to beat : ukubethana - to beat each other

He also says that with certain verbs there are modifications in the functions of the reciprocal extension. It may cease to be reciprocal and denote unilateral action, for example:

Ndahlangana nomhlobo wam edolophini

"I met my friend in the village."

Pahl also mentions that the extension -AN- features in a number of verbs of which the basic stem no longer exists in Xhosa, for example:

Ukuhlangana, ukudibana	- to meet or assemble
Ukulingana	- to fit
Ukusangana	- to frown (2)

2.1.2 Satyo

Satyo in his thesis, *Topics in Xhosa Verbal Extensions* (1985) asserts that:

"-AN- is generally referred to as the reciprocal extension. This characterisation unfortunately gives the impression that whenever -AN- is used, the meaning of 'reciprocity' is realised. Satyo further explains that:

"Extension -AN- has a variety of meanings. It should be emphasised, however, that the major meaning of this extension is indeed that of reciprocity and that all the other meanings show some connection to this major one..."

2.1.3 Wilkes

Wilkes (1971) : *Agtervoegsels van die Werkwoord in Zulu* also advances the view that the extension -AN- has a variety of meanings. He has made important observations about Zulu reciprocals, which are also true in Xhosa.

He mentions the reciprocal (Resiprokaal) and gives the following examples:-

-bonan- "mekaar sien" (-bon- 'sien') : abafana bayabonana
'die seuns sien mekaar'

-shayan- 'mekaar slaan' (-shay- 'slaan') :

-bethan- (Xhosa) (-beth- 'slaan'):

Izinsizwa siyashayana 'die jongmans slaan mekaar'
abafana bayabethana

-thandan- 'mekaar liefhê' (- thand - 'liefhê'):

Indoda ithandana nentombi 'die man en die meisie het mekaar
lief' (3)

This is the same as in Xhosa.

He goes on to discuss the following:

(Assosiatief, kolkktief en duratief)

Associative, collective and durative, giving examples as follows:

-hlangan- 'by mekaar kom' amabandla ayahlangana kabili namuhla
'die raadslede sal vandag tweemaal bymekaar kom'

-bophan- 'dig teenmekaar vas (-maak) 'Bo Lapha endlini
kubophene umusi. 'Hier in die huis is dit dig van die rook'

(4)

2.1.4 Satyo, Wilkes & Pahl

Satyo and Wilkes further explain the notions of interconnection or correlation. They point out that the reciprocal idea can be expressed more indirectly. Satyo provides the following examples in this respect.

(i) Le thesis ijongana nezixando

This thesis SC-about +REC-extensions

'This thesis is about extensions'.

(ii) Intetho yakhe ibinxusene nabagxeki

His speech SC-directed + REC- critics

'His speech was somewhat directed at (his) critics'(5)

Here there is an element of mutual interconnection or correlation. There is a kind of reciprocal relation between the two items referred to in the sentence. Satyo explains that the speech about the critics implies the existence of those critics. A further characteristic of the reciprocal relation is that of exclusiveness, that is, the speech dealt exclusively with the speaker's adversaries or critics.

Wilkes and Satyo explain another equally productive semantic function of the -AN- extension, that of indicating an action that is done together by two or more persons. This implies joint action or doing something together. This is referred to as the 'Associative':

a) Amadoda nabafazi aqukene emthunzini

Men and women SC + assemble - REC in the shade

'Men and women have assemble in the shade' (6)

The associative semantics reading can also be realised in those cases where the conjoined subject is split:

b) U Mandisa uthandana noLandile

Mandisa SC - like + REC Landile

'Mandisa likes Landile' (7)

Literally it means that Mandisa is engaged in X-activity together with Landile. The relationship with the reciprocal is quite clear because of the idea of mutual action.

A further semantic relation of -AN- that is identified by Satyo and Wilkes is the entanglement reading, though they differ a little in this respect.

Wilkes (1971; 110) proposes the 'collective' as a separate semantic variant of -AN-, though the other grammarians treat this variant as an aspect of the Associative relation.

Satyo (1985:156) proposes the term 'entanglement' rather than the term 'collective'. He points out that the meaning realised in all the examples below is that of 'getting entangled'. He further explains that this meaning is very closely related to that of the 'associative' semantic relation. The only difference is that while the 'associative' semantic relation suggests assemblage, the 'entanglement' semantic reading has connotations of entwining, enlacing, turning and twisting, curling, folding etc. This would entail the 'coming together' of parts of a particular object, which would have a bearing on the whole idea of reciprocity.

(i) Imitya iyasongana

The shoe laces SC - entangled + REC

'The shoe laces are becoming entangled'

(ii) Lo mtya uphothene

This string SC - entwined + REC

'This string is entwined'

(iii) Sinyophene esi sithethi

SC -confused +REC this speaker

'This speaker is confused. (8)

Pahl (1978:397) mentions the above semantic relations of

-AN- as secondary functions:

"The third type of aggregate is one that is intertwined or entangled : ukubophana : become bound together in a tangled mass; ukuphinyela : become intertwined; ukunyophana : become a confused interwoven mass."

He states that some of these extended forms in this category can also be used figuratively to refer to the complexity or confusion of, or lack of agreement in regard to, any issue, for example:

Umcimbi ophixeneyo

A matter SC - confused +REC

'A confused matter' (9)

Satyo as well as Wilkes identify the durative variant which indicates that the subject is engaged in a process in a continuous manner. They state that the durative is further divided into three sub-categories, which Satyo describes as follows:

- (i) **Habitual action:** an action that the subject does habitually, often frequently or on an everyday basis, for example:

Yinto yakhe ukuthuthana namanzi

'He is well known for drawing water continually'

- (ii) **Continuous action:** this is used to denote action that continues or persists. The subject is engaged in an activity persistently or continuously with an NP that functions as a semantic object, for example:

Umfazi uphekana nokutya

The woman SC + cook + REC the food

'The woman is cooking food continuously'

- (iii) **Concentrated action:** This could be seen to relate to a 'continuous' type of action, but it differs from the other two in that it also implies that the subject is absorbed in an action, for example:

Ndibukana nosana

I SC looking at + REC the child

'I am looking at the child endlessly with admiration.'

(10)

This durative significance of -AN- could be seen to have some bearing on the idea of reciprocity if one considers the fact that, in the above sentences, the subject is continuously involved with the object in some action or other.

Satyo points out that a number of radicals in Xhosa appear to be -AN- extended, but have no corresponding simple stems, for example:

- diban- 'come together, meet'
- fan- 'look alike, resemble'
- lingan- 'to be of the same size, height, weight'

(11)

None of these radicals allows the attachment of -AN-. They have an inherent 'mutuality' feature in them. They incorporate a major semantic significance of -AN-. Any further attachment of -AN- to these radicals would be semantically vacuous, it is probably on these grounds that such an attachment of -AN- is prohibited, hence these Satyo calls, "Fossilised Forms"

He goes on to explain that a strong relationship between these verbal radicals and the reciprocal -AN- can be accounted for in syntactic terms:

(i) Abafundi badibana neetitshala

The students SC - meet + REC the teachers

'The students meet the teachers'

(ii) Lo mntwana ufana nonina

This child SC - look like +REC her mother.

'This child looks like her/his mother'

(iii) Le ndoda ilingana nale nkwenkwe ngobude.

This man SC - is of the same height + REC this boy

'This man is of the same height as that boy' (12)

In all the above sentences the verb is obligatorily subcategorized for the preposition -NA- with a complement, as is the case with a number of reciprocal sentences.

Wilkes and Satyo are of the opinion that there is need for plurality of subjects in reciprocal sentences. There is a constraint in Xhosa Reciprocal sentences which implies that the subject of such sentences must be in the plural. In other words, the subject must either be conjoined or plural:

(i) UNkwenkwe noNqonqo bayathukana

Nkwenkwe and Nqonqo SC-insult + REC

'Nkwenkwe and Nqonqo insult each other.'

(ii) Abantwana bayathandana

The children SC-love + REC

'The children love one another/each other'

(iii) * Umntwana uyathandana

The child SC-love +REC

'The child love one another/each other' (13)

The ungrammaticality of sentence (iii) is noted due to the subject which is in the singular.

Wilkes (1971:113) emphasises that the constraint on plurality of argument depends on whether a given verb which is extended by -AN- incorporates the semantic reading of either the 'reciprocal' as such or the 'associative' semantic variant.

Singular nouns as subjects could be taken as counter-examples to the claim about the need for plurality of subjects in reciprocal sentences:

i) IsiBhaca siyanyokana

The Bhaca SC - spy + REC

'The Bhacas spy on one another'

ii) IsiMbombela siyathandana

The Mbombela people SC - love + REC

'The Mbombela people love one another'

iii) Usapho luyathandana

Members of a family SC - love + REC

'(Members of this) family love one another' (14)

The semantic reading of these sentences is 'reciprocal' and yet they have 'singular' subjects. The grammaticality of these sentences is accounted for by the fact that although they belong to

singular classes, they have the semantic reading of mass nouns. On that basis therefore, they do not violate the principle of plurality which has been claimed for subjects of reciprocal constructions.

Satyo explains that any other -AN- extended verbs that exclude the semantic reading of 'reciprocity' or 'association', do allow singular subjects:

- i) UBuntu uthandana noLungisa
Buntu SC love + REC and Lungisa
'Buntu is in love with Lungisa'
- ii) UBuntu ubonana noyise
Buntu SC-meet + REC and father
'Buntu meets his father' (15)

In the above examples, the principle of reciprocity is understood, and the semantic reading of 'X is engaged in an event with Y', is emphasised.

Satyo quotes Bokamba (1976:42) and Abasheikh (1978:34) who suggested that the attachment of -AN- to a verbal root detransitivises that verb:

- i) UKholosa uthanda uNobommvu
Kholosa SC-like + Nobomvu
'Kholosa likes Nobomvu'

- ii) UKholosa noNobomvu bayathandana
Kholosa and Nobomvu SC-like +REC
'Kholosa and Nobomvu like each other' (16)

Again the following examples would appear to strengthen the claim that -AN- detransitivises a verb to which it is attached:

- i)* UKholosa noNobomvu bathandana abantwana
Kholosa and Nobomvu SC-love + REC children
Kholosa and Nobomvu love each other children'
- ii)* UKholosa noNobomvu babukana abantwana
Kholosa and Nobomvu SC-admire + REC children
'Kholosa and Nobomvu admire and each other children'
- (17)

Consider these examples:

- i) ULinda noBonisa babukana iinwele
Linda and Bonisa SC admire = REC the hair
'Linda and Bonisa admire each other's hair'
- ii) ULinda noZola bahlambana izandla
Linda and Zola SC wash + REC hands
Linda and Zola wash each other's hands' (18)

The examples above demonstrate an important feature of reciprocal sentences in Xhosa. They indicate the use of the reciprocal to show a relationship of possession between two noun phrases.

Satyo (1985:153) explains the ways of indicating the reciprocal meaning. He states:

"Generally, languages appear to favour one of two different ways of indicating the reciprocal meaning. These are:

i) a special marking on one of the two co-referential arguments.

ii) a special marking on the verb whose arguments are co-referential in the reciprocal sense. (19)

For, instance, English uses the first device by specially marking one of the two co-referential arguments to indicate reciprocal meaning. It uses either 'each other' or 'one another':

i) The lecturers looked at one another.

ii) Mr Smith and Mr Jones looked at each other. (20)

Xhosa uses a combination of the two devices as (i) and (ii) above. The verb stem is specially marked for indicating reciprocal meaning by the attachment of the -AN- extension. The second NP will in turn be prefixed with the preposition -NA-:

i) Abazali bajongana

The parents SC-looked + REC

'The parents looked at one another'

ii) UKhaya ujongana noZakhe

UKhaya SC - looked + REC and Zakhe

'Khaya and Zakhe looked at each other' (21)

2.1.5 Summary

In this chapter it has been observed that the reciprocal form of the verb denotes that the action is reciprocated, and is similar to the form expressed in English objectively by 'each other' and 'one another'.

In Xhosa this derivative is formed by suffixing -AN- in place of the final vowel of the verb - stem:

thanda (love)	-	thandana (love one another)
bona (see)	-	bonana (see one another)
betha (beat)	-	bethana (beat one another)
nceda (help)	-	ncedana (help each other)

The research that has been done establishes that verbal extensions serve to extend not only the morphological structure of a given root but also its syntactic and semantic features.

It therefore appears that:

- i) The extension -AN- has a variety of meanings ✓
- ii) The major meaning is indeed that of reciprocity
- iii) All the other meanings show some connection to this major one.
- ✓ iv) The reciprocal idea can be more indirect.
- v) A further characteristic of reciprocal relation is that of exclusiveness, that is, the speech dealt exclusively with the speakers adversities or critics.
- vi) Semantic functions of the -AN- extension besides reciprocity, are also observed, for example:
Associative, entanglement, durative, collective, aggregate.

Since the reciprocal form of the verb always implies that at least two things or groups of things are involved in the action, it commonly occurs with a plural subject:

Siyabonana

SC - see + REC

'We see each other'.

CHAPTER III

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at exploring the syntactic and semantic features of derivative verb stems with -AN-. Xhosa has a system of suffixing certain morphemes to verb roots which serve to subcategorise those verbs. It also examines the variations in the number of arguments a verb can take.

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, a few Bantuists have realised the misconception of associating a term with a morphological form, thus realising that the meaning is not always reciprocal whenever -AN- extension is used.

The reciprocal has also been treated in Transformational Generative Grammar.

3.1.1 Principles of the Theory of Binding

Noam Chomsky (1981:188) subdivides nominal expressions into three basic categories:

- i) Anaphors
- ii) Pronominals
- iii) R-expressions

He further comments that:

"Binding theory specifies the domain in which anaphors, pronouns and referential expressions are associated, or not associated with an antecedent."

The binding theory has one principle for each of these categories:

- (A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category
- (B) A pronominal is free in its governing category
- (C) An R - expression is free

Anaphors are NPs that have no capacity for 'inherent reference: Consider two types of anaphors:

- (i) Lexical anaphors, such as reciprocals and reflexives
- (ii) NP - trace

Bound is interpreted as "locally \bar{A} - bound," where B is \bar{A} bound by A if B is bound by A and A is in an \bar{A} - position, that is, a position having a G.F. such as subject or object. The element B is \bar{A} - bound by A if it is bound by A and the latter is in an \bar{A} - position (a non \bar{A} - position), such as COMP, but an NP-trace or anaphor is \bar{A} -bound by its antecedent. The element B is 'locally X - bound' by A if it is X - bound by A ($X = \bar{A}$ or A) and is, A in the obvious sense, the 'closest' binder of B.

Anaphors include overt categories such as 'each other', himself and the ECs, NP-trace and PRO. Pronominals are elements containing the features person, gender, number and possibly case, and an optional phonological matrix, excluding elements identified as non pronominal lexical items (e.g. each other, John). PRO is regarded as a pronominal anaphor, i.e. the subject of an infinitive.

Since PRO is a pronominal anaphor, it is subject to Principles A and B of the binding theory, from which it follows that PRO lacks a governing category and is therefore ungoverned.

If we consider the Principles A and B of the Binding Theory, we realise that they identify two categories of expression, that is, anaphors and pronominals. If the binding theory is correct, then in the best of all possible worlds we would expect to find four categories of expression:

- a. [+anaphor, - pronominal]
- b. [-anaphor, + pronominal]
- c. [+anaphor, + pronominal]
- d. [-anaphor, - pronominal]

Noam Chomsky (1982 : 78)

- a. refers to (i) each other and
(ii) trace

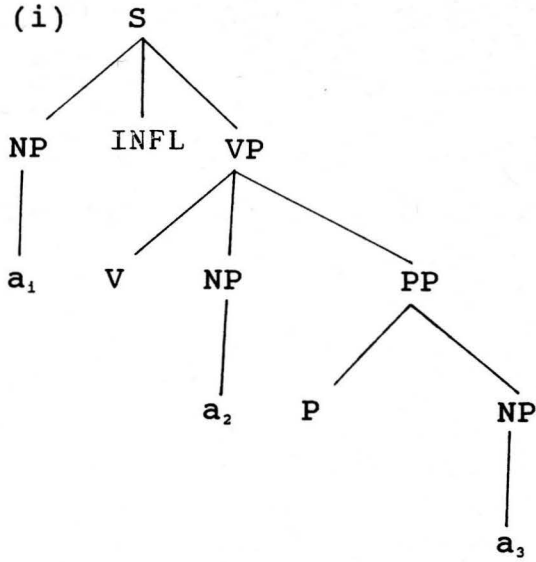
b, c & d refer to

- (i) pro
- (ii) PRO
- (iii) Lexical items respectively.

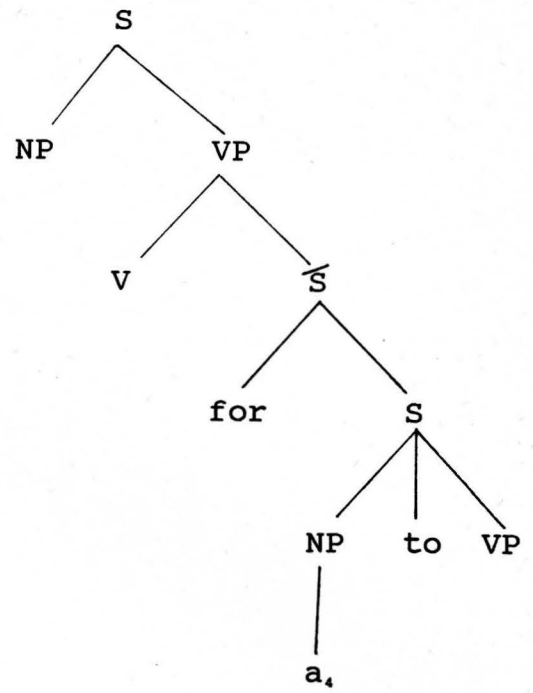
So, in the case of overt categories with lexical content, we find overt anaphors (each other), pronouns (he) and R - expressions respectively.

Consider the following examples:

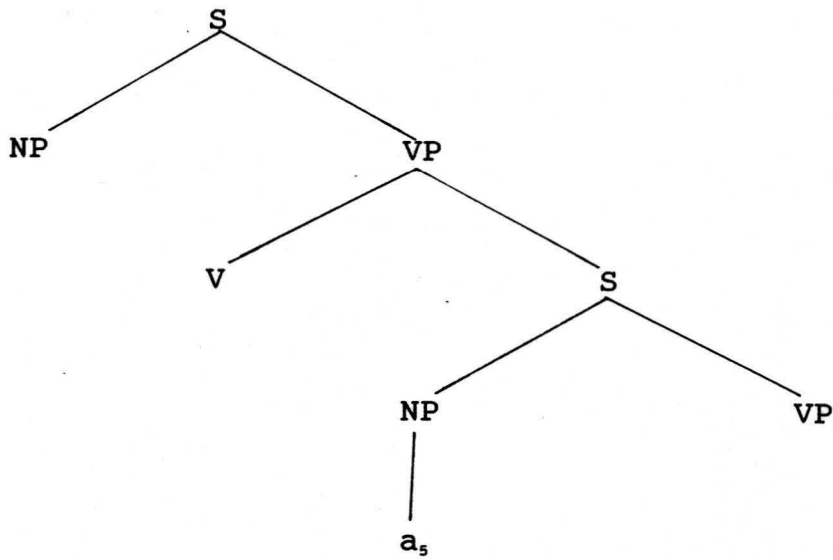
(22) (i)



(ii)



(iii)



(22)

In the case of overt anaphors such as 'each other', the element has a phonetic content, so it must be assigned case and therefore

must have a governing category in (22). By binding principle (A), it must be bound in this governing category.

In a i of 22 (i), suppose that 'each other' in this position is the subject of a tensed clause, with INFL = [[+ tense], AGR]. Then it is governed by INFL and its governing category is S*. But 'each other' must be bound in S*, which is impossible, so the sentence is ruled ungrammatical.

Suppose that 'each other' is the object of a verb or a preposition in VP, cases a2, a3 of (22), then the governing category once again is S. If in a2, it must be bound by the subject in a1; in a3, it must be bound by either the subject in a1, or the object in a2.

Suppose next that 'each other' is the subject of an infinitive, as in the two marked constructions (22 ii,iii) above, such constructions as (23), (24), respectively.

(i) [S* they would hate it [S for [each other to win]]]

(ii) [S*they want [S for [S each other to win]]] (23)

[S* they believe [S each other to be intelligent]] (24)

In (23), where 'each other' is in the position of a 4 or 22(ii), the anaphor is governed and assigned Case by 'for', so that its governing category is S* and it must be bound in S*. In (24), where 'each other' is in the position of a5 of 22 (iii), the anaphor is governed and assigned case by believe; again, S* is the governing category in which 'each other' of a5 of 22 (iii), the anaphor is governed and assigned case by believe; again, S* is the governing category in which 'each other' must be bound.

In the case of Xhosa we find the following:

The reciprocal is expressed by means of a derivative suffix -AN-.

Bayathandana

'They love each other' (25)

The problem then is this: is the reciprocal only a morpheme with the feature [reciprocal] or must it have an empty anaphor together with it coindexed with -AN- and its referent? For example:

[s abafundi_i, bayathandana_i pro_i] (26)

The referent of the empty pro is abafundi and this pro is an anaphor, according to principle A of the binding theory: an anaphor is bound in its governing category - its governing category is S and it is bound by abafundi.

However, this solution seems to be incorrect because the verb with -AN- when it wants to take a complement, is always subcategorised for a -NA- complement.

Ndithandana nawe

'You and I love each other' (27)

There is thus no possible syntactic position for this empty anaphor pro above.

3.1.2 Syntactic Binding

Di Sciullo (1987 : 59) views this aspect thus: in English there is a case of anaphoric binding the self-prefix. Whether prefix or noun stem, this item seems to result in the anaphoric binding' of the Theme argument by the Actor argument, for example:

educated (A, Th) -- self - educated (A; Th;)
 denial (R,A, Th)-- self denial (R;A;Th;) (28)

The A; notation indicates the binding of the first argument by the second. We take this to establish that there is this kind of argument binding as an operation on argument structures of lexical items. One could of course try to make this a case of syntactic binding, insisting that self- was bound by a syntactic rule to the syntactic subject and that the self- was syntactically related to the object position of educated.

According to the sentences with -AN- I have given above, it is clear that there is no syntactic binding with reciprocals in Xhosa.

3.1.3 Argument Binding

Given that there is such binding of arguments by arguments in the argument structure of verbs, we might wonder what relation this has to syntactic binding, how much it overlaps with it, and so on, and whether we might get rid of one in favour of the other, if there is great redundancy of mechanisms. We simply assume that there are such operations on argument structure as the reflexive binding.

Di Sciullo (1987 : 59) considers the Quechua cases reported by Muysken, and notes that : Quechua has a reciprocal suffix - naku, which we may associate with the binding of arguments just discussed:

The theme is bound by the Actor of verbs to which this affix is attached. Quechua also has a causativising affix, with which we may associate the same operation on argument structure that we posited for the Chamorro causative: add a new external argument and

internalize the old external argument. Given this, and the interesting fact that the causative suffix may be added either before or after the reciprocal suffix, we predict two outcomes: the causativized reciprocal and the reciprocalized causative.

a. verb - reci - caus

(new A; old A; Th i)

b. verb - caus - recipr

(new A; old A; Th i) (29)

Both cases exist, with predictably different meanings (Muysken 1981) in di Sciullo, *On the Definition of Word*.

Clearly the existence of these cases under the construal given does not demonstrate any kind of interpenetration of syntax and morphology: the operations in each case are on the argument structure of individual words. If binding of arguments by arguments in argument structures is available, then these examples are not to the point: (Baker 1985a, 39) in di Sciullo, *On the Definition of Word*.

In Xhosa the Quechua reciprocal suffix - naku, is -AN-, which is suffixed in the same way as in Quechua.

3.2 THE MORPHOLOGY OF RECIPROCAL VERBS

In the Stellenbosch Studies (1983: 66), in the article : *Affixation in Xhosa*, Mbadi (1983: 66) feels that verbal extensions do not change the category of the sister to which they are attached but they are derivational in that they add a semantic feature to the mother through the percolation process.

The verbal extensions found in the language are:

(i) /W/

[+Af, - N + V]

+ [V st - 2]

'passive'

bopha (tie) : botshwa (be tied)

bhala (write) : bhalwa (be written)

luma (bite) : lunywa (be bitten)

When suffixed to bilabial consonants the passive extension /W/ triggers off palatalization.

(ii) /an/

[+Af, - N + V]

+ [V st-3 -]

'reciprocal'

'transitive'

thanda (love) : thandana (love each other)

bona (see) : bonana (see each other)

thiya (hate) : thiyana (hate each other)

luma (bite) : lumana (bite each other)

funa (want) : funana (look for each other)

(30)

Verbal extensions may be combined, for example, the applicative /el/ and causative /is/ and / or reciprocal /an/. This combination, however, is linearly and hierachically ordered. The following possible combinations illustrate this point:

(i) -is -

-is - w e.g. bon - is - w - a

-is - an e.g. bon - is - an - a

-is - ek e.g. bon - is - ek - a

-is - el e.g. bon - is - el - a

(ii) -an -

-an - w e.g. bon - an - w - a

-an - is e.g. thand - an - is a

-an - is - el e.g. hlamb - an - is - el - a

-an - is - el - w e.g. hlaty -an-is-el -w-a

(iii) -ek -

-ek - is e.g. hlab - ek - is - a

-ek - is - an e.g. both - ek - is - an - a

-ek - an - is e.g. lahl - ek - an - is - a

-ek - el - e.g. thamb - ek - el - a

(iv) -el -

-el - w e.g. theng - el - w - a

-el - an - is e.g. xol - el - an - is - a

-el - an - is - ek - is e.g. xol-el-an-is-ek-is-a

-el w - an e.g. hanj-el-w-an-a (31)

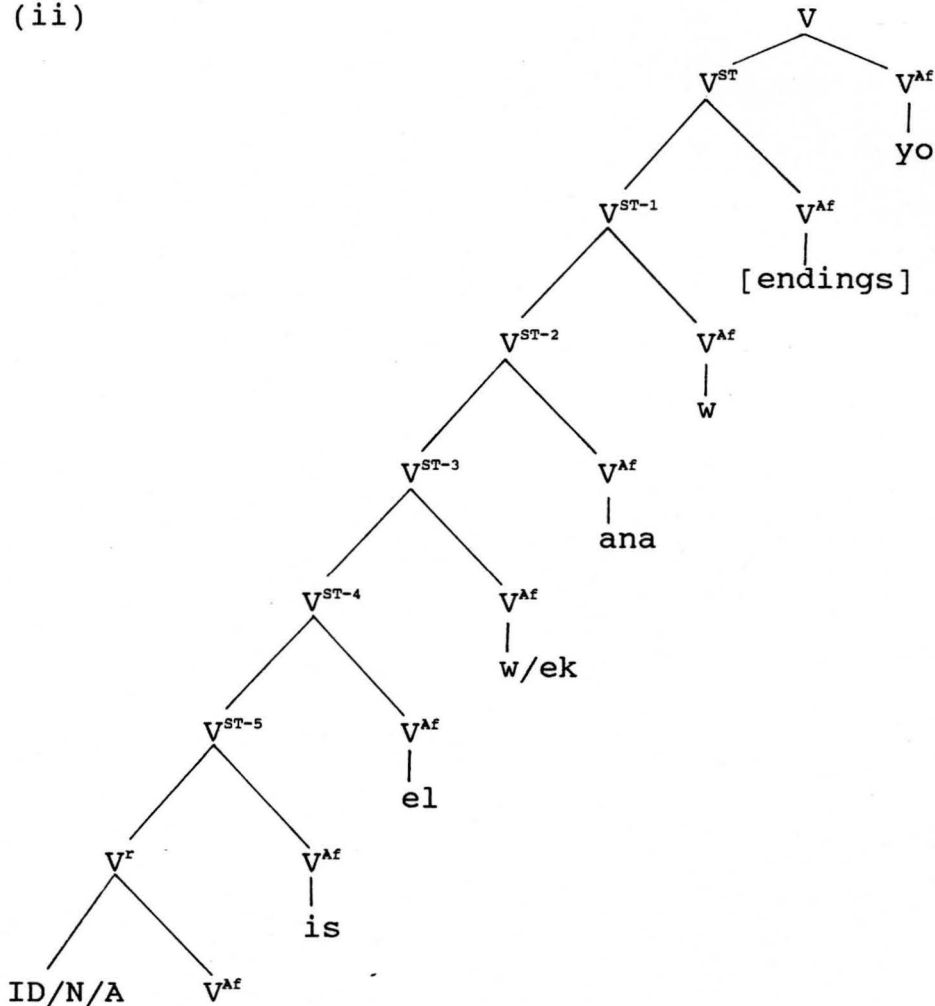
In some cases there are even double combinations:

- (i) fun-is-is-a
jong-is-is-a
fun -an-an-a

3.2.1 Hierarchical Structure of the Verb with Suffixes

Mbadi (1983:69) draws up this structure for verbal suffixes:

(ii)



(32)

According to this view, the reciprocal -AN- is then to be considered a derivational morpheme with its specific position in this derivational tree above.

Furthermore, this morpheme adds an internal argument of theme on the verb, as was indicated by di Sciullo above.

Thus, there seems to be argument binding within a verb between actor and theme, the two semantic roles in i.a.

Abantwana bayathandana

'The children love one another' (33)

The verb thand - an - thus has as a lexical item argument binding in which the theme must be bound by the actor.

3.3 THE SYNTAX OF RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN XHOSA

3.3.1 Aim

The aim of this section is the following :

- a. To consider the syntax of verbs with suffix -AN-, i.e. no other suffixes will be considered e.g. combinations of suffixes like el - an -, in xol-el-an-a, and is-an-, in xol-is-an-a.
- b. Three different types of verbs will be taken into account:
 - i) Intransitive - baleka 'to run'
 - ii) Transitive - beka 'to put down'
 - iii) Double Transitive - pha 'to give'
- c. The following types of structures will be considered:
 - i) Reciprocal verbs only

e.g. Usapho luyabizana

Members of this family SC call + Rec

'Members of this family call each other'

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 - i) Intransitive - baleka 'to run'
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 - iii) Double Transitive - pha 'to give'
- c. The following types of structures will be considered:
 - i) Reciprocal verbs only
e.g. Usapho luyabizana
Members of this family SC call + Rec
'Members of this family call each other'

- ii) Reciprocal verbs with objects:
e.g. Amadoda abonana ubuhle
The men SC- see + REC beauty
'The men see each other's beauty'
- iii) Reciprocal verbs with na - complements
e.g. Indoda ikhabana nenkwenkwe
The man SC- kick + REC with the boy
'The man and the boy kick each other'
- iv) Reciprocal verbs with infinitives
e.g. Aba bantwana babonana ukusebenza
These children SC - see + REC to work
'These children see each other's working'
- v) Reciprocal verbs with NGA - complements
e.g. Aba bantwana babonana ngamehlo
These children SC - see + REC with eyes
'These children see each other by means of eyes'
- vi) Reciprocal verbs with locative complements
e.g. La makhwenkwe akhabana ebaleni
These boys SC - kick + REC in the field
'These boys kick each other in the field.'

d. No special consideration will be give to the semantic interpretation of these structures except in so far as it proves to be relevant.

- e. It seems as if all the previous studies concentrated only on the morphological and semantic features of -AN- thus very little work has been done on the syntax of these constructions with -AN-.

3.3.2 Semantic Interpretation

There are many structures with -AN- suffix in the three types of verbs we are taking into account : intransitive, transitive and double object.

Scotton (1967a : 74) describes reciprocals as illustrating ".... the standard meaning of "mutual action". He further explains that:

"Only a root taking both animate subjects or objects may have standard reciprocal meaning of 'do mutually to each other'

Satyo (1985 : 154) explains:

"In the standard reciprocal meaning the Agent is also the Patient, while the Patient is also the Agent'....for example:

- a) UThembile noZukiswa bayabukana
Thembile and Zukiswa SC - admire + REC
'Thembile and Zukiswa admire each other'

- b) UMfundo nale nja bayabukana
Mfundo and this dog SC - admire + REC
'Mfundo and this dog admire each other'
- BUT c) * UAyanda nomthunzi bayathandana
Ayanda and the shade SC like + REC
'Ayanda and the shade like each other' (34)

The following examples show the structures with -AN- suffix in the three types of verb and their semantic interpretation.

A: Reciprocal

This term is used to refer to elements which express the meaning of mutual relationship e.g. reciprocal pronouns such as 'each other':

- (i) Ndizana nawe
SC follow + REC - you
'You and I follow each other in birth'
(Intansitive + NA + singular)
- (ii) La makhwenkwe ayavana
These boys SC-friendly + REC
'These boys are friendly to each other'
(Transitive + Plural)

(iii) Ndinikana nawe ibhola

SC give + REC you the ball

'You and I are giving each other the ball'

(Double object + NA + Singular) (35)

B: Associative

This implies joint action or doing something together

Izizwe ziza kudibana komkhulu namhlanje

The nations SC-assemble + REC- great place today

'The nations will assemble together at the great place today' (36)

C: Durative

This variant indicates that the subject is engaged in a process in a continuous manner:

Lo mfazi uthathana nemali yam

This woman SC- take + REC money mine

'This woman continuously takes my money'

(Trans + NA + Singular) (37)

D: Intensification

In some verbs - AN - suffixed to the applied form denotes progressive increase or intensification:

Iintlungu ziyanyukelana

The pain SC-increase + REC

'The pain is rapidly increasing' (38)

E: Acting Together

In a number of verbs -ANA- is suffixed to the causative form to denote acting together or communally on the part of two or three more people:

UMandisa noNoxolo bayasebenzisana kule lali

'Mandisa and Noxolo work together harmoniously in this location. (39)

F: Aggregate

-AN- has a common function of indicating an aggregate. In some verbs -AN- denotes the action of combining to form a compact, solid, cohesive or united body, in some it denotes a coming together to form an assemblage of individuals, in others it denotes becoming bound together in a tangled mass, interwoven mass or to become confused:

(i) Lo mcimbi uphixene

This matter SC - confused + REC

'This matter is confused'

(ii) Lo mtya uphothene

This thong SC - entwined

'This thong is entwined'

(iii) La mabhanti ayasongana

These belts SC- entangle + REC

'These belts are becoming entangled'

(iv) Aba bantu bamanyene

These people SC united + REC

'These people are united' (40)

The semantic interpretations above show that the suffix -AN- is not always reciprocal. There are many different meanings of this suffix as shown above.

Again, it is clear that this semantic interpretation cannot be done in the lexicon through features on the lexical item because many sentences with -AN- verbs are ambiguous with different features.

Thus, the interpretation of these sentences is frequently dependent on discourse factors which are not present at the level of either the lexicon or the sentence.

3.4 TRANSITIVE VERBS

These are verbs which appear with objects in a sentence.

du Plessis (1979:3 p 129) explains that:

"This group of verbs constitutes the largest single category of verbs in Xhosa. They may appear in the following structures.

The head of N2 is either a noun or a locative noun:

(i) **FUN:** Bonke abantu ba-fun-a imali

'all' 'people' 'they' 'want' 'Pres' 'money'

(all the people want money)

(ii) Bonke abantu ba-ya-yi-fun-a imali

'all' 'people' 'they' 'it' 'want' 'Pres' 'money'

(41)

He further points out that all transitive verbs may be spelled out in structures represented by the two sentences above. Optional agreement always exists between the direct object and the verb in Xhosa as exemplified by the second sentence above.

du Plessis (1978:118)

He goes on to explain that a limited number of intransitive verbs may appear as transitive verbs. When this happens it is usually found that the object of such verbs must be carefully specified. These verbs may only appear with limited objects, for example:

Transitive (i) Ndi-phuph-e iphupha

'I' 'dream' 'Perf' 'dream'

'I have dreamt a dream'

(ii) ndi-sebenz-a umsebenzi

'I' 'work' 'Pres' 'work'

'I am doing a work' (42)

These sentences may also be found in the passive:

(i) Iphupha li-phutsh-we ndim

'dream' 'it' 'dream' 'Passive' 'I'

"The dream has been dreamt by me"

(ii) Umsebenzi u-setyenz-wa ndim

'The work' 'it' 'work' 'Passive' 'me'

"The work is being done by me" (43)

There may be agreement between these verbs and the direct object which is clear proof of the transitivity of these verbs:

Si-ya-si-hamb - a isikolo
 'we' 'it' 'walk' 'Pres' 'school'
 "We do attend school" (44)

The clitic pronoun *si* and the direct object *isikolo* are in agreement in this sentence.

3.4.1 Reciprocal Verbs Only

(a) Subjects in the Singular

Generally transitive verbs may not have a singular subject without a complement:

- (i)* ULandile uyakhabana
 Landile SC kick + REC
 'Landile kicks one another'
- (ii)* Indoda iyabonana
 The man SC see + REC
 'The man sees each other' (45)

Examples (38) (i) and (ii) above show that the subject in a reciprocal sentence must be in the plural.

Cole (1979:210) puts it this way:

'Since the reciprocal form of the verb always implies that at least two things or groups of things are involved in the action, it commonly occurs with plural subjects'

Doke (1986: 144) states:

'Reciprocal forms of the verb are commonly used with plural subjects and plural concords'

But, the following examples are counter-examples to the claim made above about the need for plurality of subjects in reciprocal sentences:

(i) IsiMpondo siyabizana

The Mpondos SC- call + REC

'The Mpondos call one another'

(ii) Usapho luyabizana

Members of this family SC call + REC

'Members of this family call each other'(46)

Satyo (1985: 109) explains that the semantic reading of these sentences is 'reciprocal' and yet they have 'singular' subjects. The grammaticality of these sentences is accounted for by the fact that although they belong to singular classes, they have the semantic reading of mass nouns. On that basis therefore, they do

not violate the principle of plurality which has been claimed for subjects of reciprocal construction.

(b) Subjects in the Plural

Satyo (1985:107) states:

".... there is a constraint in Xhosa reciprocal sentences which implies that the subject of such sentences must be in the plural. In other words, the subject must either be conjoined or plural"

Bhat (1978:58) explains:

"There appears to be a constraint, in most of the languages, that the coreferential arguments of a reciprocal sentence must be conjoined or plural. This constraint is apparently due to the way in which the reciprocal sentences are generally formed: they put together two different noun phrases which represent the two reciprocating arguments. The other argument is either left unspecified, or represented by a reciprocal pronoun"

Wilkes (1971:113) expresses his viewpoint thus:

"Alle werkwoorde waarin die resiprokale agtervoegsel die semantiese variant 'resiprokaal' of assosiatief neem, vertoon 'n verpligte valensie vir onderwerpsbepalings met 'n kollektiewe of meervoudsbetekenis. Hierdie bepalings kan of uit 'n enkel naamwoord of uit 'n newegeskikte naamwoordgroep bestaan".

Wilkes emphasises that the constraint on plurality of arguments depends on whether a given verb which is extended by -AN- incorporates the semantic reading of either the 'reciprocal' as such or the 'associative' semantic variant.

Compare the following examples :

-bon-

(i) Ezi zinja ziyabonana

These dogs SC - they see + REC

'These dogs see each other'

(ii)* Amaza ayabonana

The waves SC they - see + REC

'The waves see each other'

-khab-

(iii) La makhwenkwe ayakhabana

These boys SC - they kick + REC

'These boys kick each other'

(iv)* Iipali ziyakhabana

The poles SC they kick + REC

'The poles kick each other' (47)

The examples in (47) above indicate that:

- (i) There is a constraint in Xhosa sentences which implies that the subject of such sentences must be in the plural.

- (ii) The reciprocal verbs -bonan- and -khaban- have no problem as far as plural subjects are concerned except where the subject has a [- animate] semantic feature.

3.4.2 Reciprocal Verbs With Objects

(a) Subjects in the Singular

The examples in (48) below could be taken as counter examples to the claim made above about the need for plurality of subjects in reciprocal sentences.

- (i)* Indoda ibonana ubuhle
The man SC see + REC beauty
'The man sees beauty continuously'
- (ii)* Indoda ibonana iinwele
The man SC see + REC the hair
'The man sees the hair continuously'
- (iii)* Indlu ibonana ubuhle
The house SC see + REC the beauty
'The house sees continuously the beauty'
- (iv) * Indlu ibonana uthanda
The house SC see REC crack
'The house sees continuously a crack' (48)

The sentences in (48) above could also be taken to indicate that reciprocal verbs with singular subjects don't seem to take objects at all. As can be seen all the above sentences are grammatically unacceptable whether with semantic feature animate or [- animate].

(b) Subjects in the Plural or Mass Nouns

Using the same structures used in the sentences above, with the subject in the plural now, no problems are encountered and the sentences are grammatically acceptable except those with [- animate] subjects.

Consider the examples in (49) below:

(i) Amadoda abonana ubuhle

The man SC see + REC beauty

'The man see each other's beauty'

(ii) Amadoda abonana iinwele

The man SC see + REC hair

'The men see each other's hair'

(iii)* Izindlu zibonana ubuhle

The houses SC see + REC beauty

'The houses see each other's beauty'

(iv) * Izindlu zibonana iintanda

The houses SC see + REC cracks

'The houses see each other's cracks' (49)

Summary

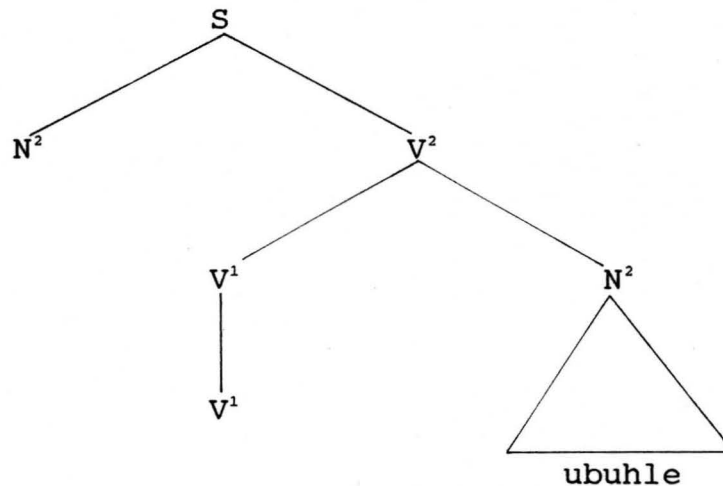
(i) Examples (49) (i) and (ii) above have no problem as far as the reciprocal sentences are concerned. They are grammatically accepted. This is due to their subjects being in the plural form, and having an animate semantic feature 'amadoda'.

But: both (49) (i) and (ii) cannot take a clitic and cannot be moved in passives:

(a)* Amadoda ayabubonana ubuhle

(b)* Ubuhle bubonanwa ngamadoda

Both are incorrect. Therefore **ubuhle** is not an object but an adjunct of the verb with the following structure:



An adjunct is a sister of V^1 and a complement is a sister of V , which is absent in this structure.

(ii) Examples (49) (iii) and (iv) have a problem, due to the fact that the subject 'izindlu' though in the plural too has a semantic feature [-animate] and are therefore unacceptable.

- (iii) This indicates that transitive, reciprocal verbs with objects in Xhosa must have subjects in the plural, though they are affected by the semantic feature [- animate]

3.4.3 Reciprocal Verbs with -NA- Complements

A: WITHOUT NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

(a) Subjects in the Singular

- (i) UZola ukhabana noLizo

Zola SC - kick + REC with Lizo

'Zola kicks Lizo continuously'

'Zola and Lizo kick each other'

- (ii)* UZola ukhabana nebhola

Zola SC kick + REC with the ball

'Zola kicks the ball continuously'

- (iii) * Ibhola ikhabana nenkwenkwe

The ball SC kick + REC with the boy

'The ball kicks the boy continuously'

- (iv)* Ipali ikhabana nebhola

The pole SC kick + REC with the ball

'The pole kicks the ball continuously' (50)

The above example [50 (i)] has an ambiguous meaning, as shown above. Nevertheless it is reciprocal and also grammatically acceptable. This is due to the fact that both the subject and object of the sentence have an animate semantic feature.

(a) UZola noLizo bayakhabana

Zola and Lizo SC kick + REC

'Zola and Lizo kick each other'

Some more examples of the above aspect will read:

(b) Inkomo nedonki ziyakhabana

The cow and the donkey SC kick + REC

'The cow and the donkey kick each other'

(c) Impuku nekati ziyaleqana

The mouse and the cat SC chase REC

The mouse and the cat chase each other'

Example [50 (ii)] is not reciprocal due to the fact that the object has a semantic feature [- animate]

Examples [50 (iii) and (iv)] are not reciprocal and not acceptable even grammatically. This is due to the fact that both the subject and the object have semantic features [- animate]

Examples 50 (ii), (iii) and (iv) are not reciprocal, but durative in that there is an action that continues or persists. The subject is engaged in an activity persistently or continuously with an NP that functions as a semantic object.

The findings above, therefore, remind one of Scotton's views (1967a : 74) that:

'Only a root taking animate subjects or objects may have standard reciprocal meaning of 'do mutually to each other'

(b) Subjects in the Plural or Mass Nouns

Using the same structures, we will now consider the same sentences, but now in the plural form:

(i) Amadoda akhabana namakhwenkwe

The men SC kick + REC with the boys

'The men kick the boys continuously'

'The men and the boys kick one another'

As in the singular form, the above sentence has an ambiguous meaning of a 'persistent and a reciprocal action. This ambiguity ceases once the nouns form a co-ordinated subject thus:

(a) Amadoda namakhwenkwe ayakhabana

The men and the boys SC kick + REC

'The men and the boys kick one another'

(b) Iinkomo needonki ziyakhabana

The cows and the donkeys SC kick + REC

'The cows and the donkeys kick one another'

(c) Iimpuku neekati ziyaleqana

The mouse and the cats SC chase + REC

'The mouse and the cats chase one another'

(ii)* Amakhwenkwe akhabana neebhola

The boys SC kick + REC the ball

'The boys kick the balls continuously'

(iii)* Iibhola zikhabana namakhwenkwe

The balls SC kick + REC with the boys

'The balls kick the boys continuously'

(iv)* Iipali zikhabana neebhola

The poles SC kick + REC with the balls

'The poles kick the balls continuously' (51)

Summary

The following conclusions have been made:

- (i) Examples 50 (i) and (51) (i) with animate subjects and objects are the only reciprocal and grammatically accepted sentences.
- (ii) The above sentences have also an ambiguous form in that they have the reciprocal meaning of 'do mutually together' and the durative meaning of a 'continuous or persistent action'. This ambiguity only ceases when the nouns are put together to form a co-ordinated subject, then the reciprocal meaning remains.
- (iii) The other sentences with [-animate] subjects and / or objects are grammatically unacceptable and have a durative rather than a reciprocal meaning.

B: WITH NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

(a) Subjects in the Singular

The sentences below attempt to show those reciprocal sentences with nominal complements, that are either acceptable or unacceptable in Xhosa, in different structures:

(i) Indoda ibonana ulunya nentombi

The man SC see + REC selfishness with the girl

'The man and girl see each other's selfishness'

The above sentence is a reciprocal sentence and also grammatically acceptable, because both the subject and the object have an animate semantic feature. But, it cannot take a clitic and cannot be moved in passives.

(a)* Indoda iyalubonana ulunya nentombi

The man SC it see + REC selfishness - with the girl

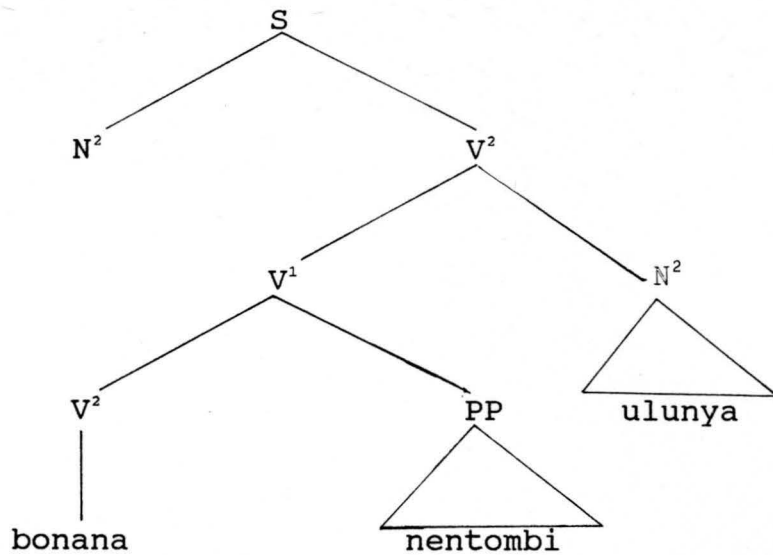
'The man and the girl see each other's selfishness'

(b)* Ulunya lubonanwa yindoda nentombi

Selfishness SC seen + REC by the man and the girl

'Selfishness is seen by the man and the girl in each other'

Both the above sentences are incorrect. Therefore **ulunya** is not an object but an adjunct of the verb with the following structure:



(ii)*Intombi ibonana ubuhle nendlu

The girl SC see + REC selfishness with the girl

'The girl and the house see each other's beauty'

(iii)*Umbane ubonana ingozi nengonyama

The lightning SC see + REC danger with the fire

'The lightning and the lion see danger in each other'

(iv)* Umbane ubonana ingozi nomlilo

The lightning SC see + REC danger with the fire

'The lightning and the fire see each other's danger'

(52)

(b) Subject in the Plural

The same structures may be considered with subjects in the plural form:

(i) Amadoda abonana ulunya namantombazana

The men SC see + REC selfishness with the girls

'The men and the girls see each other's selfishness'

(ii) * Iintombi zibonana ubuhle nezindlu

The girls SC see + REC beauty with the houses

'The girls and the houses see each other's
beauty'

(iii)* Imibane ibonana ingozi nengonyama

The lightnings SC see + REC danger with the fire

'The lightnings and the fire see each other's
danger' (53)

Summary

In the above examples we find the following problems:

- (i) Only (52)(i) and (53)(i) are reciprocally correct and also grammatically acceptable. This is due to the fact that the subject and object nouns have an animate semantic feature and their nominal complement is an abstract noun.
- (ii) The rest of the sentences, though reciprocal, are grammatically unacceptable due to their subjects and/or objects which have a semantic feature [- animate]

3.4.4 Reciprocal Verbs with Infinitives

The examples in (54) below illustrate the problem of reciprocal verbs with infinitives:

Consider the following examples:

(i) Aba bantwana babonana ukusebenza

These children SC see + REC to work

'These children see each other's working'

(ii) *Aba bantwana babonana umdla ukusebenza

These children SC see + REC keenness to work

'These children see each other's keenness to work'

(iii)* Amaza abonana ukuhlangana

The waves SC see + REC to meet +REC

'The waves see each other's meeting'

(iv)* Amaza abonana umdla ukuhlangana

The waves SC see + REC keenness to meet + REC

'The waves see each other's meeting'

(v)* La makhwenkwe akhabana ukoyisana

These boys SC kick + REC to win + REC

'These boys kick each other to win each other'

(vi)* La makhwenkwe akhabana ngamandla ukoyisana

These boys SC kick + REc forcefully to win

'These boys kick each other forcefully to win each other'

(vii)* Iipali zikhabana ukophulana

The poles SC kick + REC to break + REC

'The poles kick each other to break each other' (54)

Summary

(i) The verb -bon- has no problem when used with the infinitive in sentences (54) (i) and (54) (iii) where there is no complement.

(ii) This infinitive is a nominal infinitive and not a sentential infinitive. Since it serves as an adjunct similarly to the nominal *ulunya* in (52), the clitic of this infinitive is disallowed in the verbal morphology and it cannot be moved to the subject position in a corresponding passive, as demonstrated in the following examples:

(a)* Aba bantwana bayakubonana ukusebenza

(b)* Ukusebenza kubonanwa ngabantwana

(c)* Aba bantwana babulalana [ukufumana ilifa]

(d)* Aba badlali baqhathana [ukuphumelela umdlalo]

All these sentences are incorrect. Therefore these nominal infinitives are adjunct of the verb.

- (iii) In all the other sentences where there is a complement 'umdlā' there is a problem. The sentences are grammatically unacceptable. A correct sentence will use a descriptive possessive:

Aba bantwana babonana umdlā wokusebenza

These children SC see + REC keenness to work

'These children see each other's keenness for working'

- (iv) The other sentences where the verb is -khab- all have problems. They are grammatically unacceptable, especially those with subjects with a semantic feature [- animate].

3.4.5 Reciprocal Verbs with NGA Complements

Consider the following examples:

- (i) Aba bantwana babonana ngamehlo

These children SC see + REC with eyes

'These children see each other by means of eyes'

- (ii) Aba bantwana babonana ubuhle ngamehlo

These children SC see + REC beauty with eyes

'These children see each other's beauty by means of eyes'

- (iii)* Amaza abonana ngamehlo
The waves SC see + REC with eyes
'The waves see each other by means of eyes'
- (iv)* Amaza abonana ubuhle ngamehlo
The waves SC see + REC beauty with eyes
'The waves see each other's beauty by means of eyes'
- (v) *La makhwenkwe akhabana izitho ngeenyawo
These boys SC kick + REC forcefully
'These boys kick each other's legs by means of feet'
- (vi)* La makhwenkwe akhabana izitho ngeenyawo
These boys SC kick + REC legs with feet
'These boys kick each other's legs by means of feet'
- (vii)* Iipali zikhabana iziqu ngamandla
The poles SC kick + REC forcefully
'The poles kick each other forcefully'
- (viii)* Iipali zikhabana iziqu ngamandla
The poles SC kick + REC themselves, forcefully
'The poles kick each other forcefully' (55)

Summary

- (i) In the examples in (55) above all the sentences with semantic features of animate subjects are grammatically acceptable.
- (ii) All sentences with subjects which have a semantic feature [-animate] are grammatically unacceptable.

3.4.6 Reciprocal Verbs with Locative Complements

Consider the following examples:

- (i) La makhwenkwe akhabana ebaleni
These boys SC kick + REC in the field
'These boys kick each other in the field'
- (ii)* La makhwenkwe akhabana izitho ebaleni
These boys SC-kick + REC legs in the field
'These boys kick each other's legs in the field.'
- (iii)* Iipali zikhabana ebaleni
The poles SC-kick + REC in the field
'The poles kick each other in the field'
- (iv)* Iipali zikhabana iziqu ebaleni
The poles SC - kick + REC themselves in the field
'The poles kick each other in the field'
- (v) La makhwenkwe abonana ehlathini
These boys SC - see + REC in the forest
'These boys see-each other in the forest'

(vi) La makhwenkwe abonana ubukroti ehlathini
These boys SC see + REC bravery in the
forest

'These boys see each other's bravery in the
forest

(vii)* Amaza abonana elwandle

The waves SC - see + REC at sea

'The waves see each other at sea'

(viii)* Amaza abonana ubuhle elwandle

The waves SC see + REC beauty at sea

'The waves see each other's beauty at sea'

Summary

In the above examples the verbs -bonan and -khaban- are unacceptable only with subjects which have an [-animate] semantic feature, as far as reciprocal verbs with a locative complement are concerned.

3.4.7 Summary of 3.4.1 - 3.4.6

In transitive verbs in the reciprocal form, the following problems are encountered:

- (i) There is a constraint in Xhosa sentences which implies that the subjects of such sentences must be in the plural.
- (ii) [- animate] subjects also yield unacceptable sentences.
- (iii) In transitive verbs, reciprocal verbs with subjects in the singular do not seem to accept the objects at all.
- (iv) In the plural form the objects are accepted, except the semantic problem of those sentences with [-animate] subjects.
- (v) In sentences with and without nominal adjuncts in the reciprocal verbs with no complements, the sentences are grammatically unacceptable when the subject and object have a semantic feature [-animate]
- (vi) Reciprocal verbs with NGA complement and locative complement have problems only with [-animate] nouns

3.5 DOUBLE OBJECT VERBS

There are verbs which take two objects and they are sometimes called 'ditransitive', for example:

- (i) pha (to give) buza (to ask)
- nika (to give) thuma (to send)
- boleka (to borrow) vimba (to be stingy)

These verbs are usually distinguished from 'monotransitive verbs, such as:

- (ii) khaba (to kick)

Du Plessis (1980: 2,35) mentions that double object verbs may be used with direct objects only, e.g. their indirect objects may be discarded:

- (iii) Umakhulu upha iiswiti

'Grandmother is giving sweets'

The indirect object in the example above is **abantwana**

The direct object does not appear.

Du Plessis (1980:2 pp 38) explains that :

"When original double-object verbs are, however, used with the reciprocal AN, these verbs may be used with an NP in the position of the direct object after the verb"

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"When original double-object verbs are, however, used with the reciprocal AN, these verbs may be used with an NP in the position of the direct object after the verb"

(iv) Sinikana ukutya

'We are giving each other food' (57)

To distinguish between the direct and indirect object four tests will be applied. Du Plessis (op cit) mentions that:

'Direct and indirect objects can be distinguished from one another in passive sentences. One may find the following underlying structure for passive sentences with double objects:

(i) S [NP [e] VP [V + w [NP] [NP]]]

Both of these NPs can be moved to the empty subject position: when the direct object i.e. the right-most NP is moved:

(ii) S [NP [e] VP [V [ph + iw]] NP abantwana] NP
[iiswiti]]]

(iii) Iiswiti ziphiwa abantwana

'Sweets are being given to the children'

Although abantwana as the indirect object has been left behind in 58(iii), it does not seem to function as a syntactic object. A clear test in the case of Xhosa for object position is the use of clitic pronoun of abantwana

together with **abantwana**. This results in an ungrammatical sentence:

- (iv) *iiswiti zi-ya-ba - ph+w-a abantwana

The clitic pronoun for **abantwana** appears as **ba** in 58(iv). When the indirect, i.e. the second last NP in 58(i) and 58(ii) is moved :

- (v) abantwana ba-ph+w-a iiswiti

'The children are being given sweets'

In the sentence 58(v) above one may use an objectival clitic pronoun with the passive verb:

- (vi) abantwana ba-ya-zi - ph + w - a

'the children are being given them'

The clitic pronoun **zi** as in 58(vi) above may also appear together with the object **iiswiti**.

- (vii) abantwana ba-ya-zi -ph+w-a iiswiti

This seems to indicate that passive verbs with double objects as in 58(i) tend to lose their transitivity with indirect objects in surface structure as in 58(ii), but retain transitivity with one object only as in 58(v). The existential **ku** may be inserted in structures with double objects:

(viii) Ku-hlawulwa iinkosi imivuzo

'There is being paid to the chiefs salaries'

This test shows clearly that when these two objects, **abantwana** and **iiswiti** are treated differently, they produce different results. One allows objectival concord, whereas the other one does not allow it, as in the example treated above:

Example (iii) **iiswiti zi-ph+w-a abantwana**

Example (iv)* **iiswiti zi-ya-ba - ph + w-a abantwana**

Example (v) **abantwana ba-ph + iw-a iiswiti**

Example (vi) **abatwana ba-ya-zi - ph + iw - a iiswiti**

(58)

A second indication for the position of direct and indirect objects can be found with double object verbs which use the applicative suffix - **EL**. In all of these cases the position of the indirect object is fixed, it must appear directly next to the verb with **EL**:

(i) **Ndithenga imoto**

I buy - a car

'I am buying a car'

(ii) **Ndithengela umfazi imoto**

I buy for - woman - car

'I am buying a car for a woman' (59)

Thirdly, the indirect object may also appear in the locative, in which case it may have two positions in the sentence: its usual position immediately after the verb or its position in the locative:

(i) Ndibuza **umfundi** umbuzo

I ask - student question

'I am asking a question from the student'

(ii) Ndibuza umbuzo **kumfundi**

I ask question from student

'I am asking a question from the student' (60)

A final indication for the position of direct and indirect objects may be found with double-object verbs with the causative *is*. In these cases the indirect object has to appear next to the verb.

(i) Ndi - bon - is-a **abantu** iyunivesithi

I - show - people university

'I am showing the university to the people'

Double object verbs are furthermore not allowed to take two objectival clitic pronouns in Xhosa:

(ii) *kukutya endi-ku-nikileyo

It is food I gave

'It is good which I gave (it) to you'

One of the clitic pronouns in (61) (ii) has to appear after the verb but then it must have to form of an 'absolute pronoun; an emphatic type of determiner.

(iii) kukutya endi-ku nike kona

It is food - I gave

'It is food which I gave to you' (61)

3.5.1 Reciprocal Verbs only

Reciprocal verbs with subjects in the singular do not readily occur with double object verbs:

(i) *umakhulu uyaphana

grandmother SC - give + give

'grandmother is giving each other'

(ii)*ibhanki iyabolekana

the bank SC - lend + REC

'the bank is lending each other' (62)

(b) Subjects in the Plural or Mass Nouns

Consider the following examples with subjects in the plural:

(i) Aba bantu bayanikana

These people SC - give + REC

'These people give each other'

(ii) La makhwenkwe ayaxelelana

These boys SC -tell + REC

'These boys tell each other'

(iii)*Oonomathotholo bayaxelelana

The radio SC - tell + REC

'The radios tell each other'

(iv) *amaza ayanikana

The waves SC - give + REC

'The waves give each other' (63)

Double object verbs with subjects in the singular produce sentences which are neither reciprocal, nor grammatically correct as treated in (62) above.

In (63) sentences with subjects in the plural are reciprocally and grammatically correct when the subject has a semantic feature [animate] as in (63) (i) and (ii) above.

Examples (63)(iii) and (iv) show the problem of the reciprocal verbs when the subjects have a semantic feature [- animate].

Cole, in his book *An Introduction to Tswana Grammar* (1979: 210) confirms this, by saying :

'Since the reciprocal form of the verb always implies that at least two things or groups of things are involved in the action, it commonly occurs with a plural subject'

Basimane baalwana

The boys SC figth + REC

'The boys are fighting each other'(64)

3.5.2 Reciprocal Verbs with Nominal Complements

(a) Subjects in the Singular

Consider the following examples:

(i) *Umfazi unikana umntwana

The woman SC give + REC the child

'The woman gives continuously a child'

(ii) *Inkwenkwe ixelelana intombazana

The boy SC - tell + REC the girl

'The boy tells continuously a girl'

(iii)*Umfazi unikana ukutya

The woman SC - give + REC the food

'The woman gives continuously the food'

(iv) *Inkwenkwe ixelelana iindaba

The boy SC - tell + REC news

'The boy tells continuously news'

(v) *Umzi unikana umntwana umama

The home SC give - + REC the child a mother

'The home gives the child a mother'

(vi) *Unomathotholo uxelelana iindaba umntu

The radio SC tell + REC a new a person

'The radio tells continuously a person, the news'

(vii) *Umzi unikana umntwana umthunzi

The home SC give + REC the child a shade

'The home gives continuously the child, the shade'

(viii) *Unomathotholo uxelelana umntu iindaba

The radio SC tell + REC a person a news

'The home gives continuously a person, a news'

(65)

(b) Subjects in the Plural

Compare the sentences in (65) with singular subjects with the sentences in (66) below with plural subjects:

(i) Abafazi banikana abantwana

The women SC give + REC the children

'The women give one another children'

(ii) Abantwana baxelelana abazali

The children SC tell each other the parents

'The children tell each other the parents.'

(iii) Abafazi banikana ukutya

The women SC give + REC the food

'The women give each other food'

(iv) Amakhwenkwe axelelana iindaba

The boys SC tell + REC a news

'The boys tell each other a news'

(v) *Imizi inikana abantwana oomama

The homes SC give + REC the children the mother

'The homes give continuously the children, the mothers'

(vi) *Oonomathotholo baxelelana iindaba abantu

The radios SC - tell + REC a news the people

'The radios tell continuously a news, the people'

(vii) *Imizi inikana abantwana imithunzi.

The homes SC give + REC the children the shades

'The homes give continuously the children the shades' (66)

Summary

- (i) Reciprocal verbs with nominal complements are grammatically unacceptable and also non-reciprocal in meaning when the subjects are in the singular form, whether the semantic feature are animate or [-animate], hence the examples in (65) above are all unacceptable.

- (ii) Those with subjects in the plural are reciprocal in meaning and also grammatically acceptable, hence the examples in 66 (i) (ii), (iii) and (iv).
- (iii) Only those with subjects who have a semantic feature [-animate] in the plural are unacceptable, hence the examples 66 (v) - (viii).

Wilkes (1971:113) emphasised that :

"...the constraint on plurality of arguments depends on whether a given verb which is extended by -AN- incorporates the semantic reading of either the 'reciprocal' as such or the 'associative' semantic variant.

3.5.3 Reciprocal Verbs with -NA- Complements

A: WITHOUT NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

(a) Subjects in the Singular

Consider the following examples:

(i) Umfazi unikana nomntwana

The woman SC give + REC the child

'The woman and the child give each other'

(ii) *Umfazi unikana nomsebenzi

The woman SC give + REC and work

'The woman and the work give each other'

(iii) *Imvula inikana nabantu

The rain SC give + REC and the people

'The rain gives continuously and the people'

(iv) *Imvula inikana namanzi

The rain SC give + REC and the water

'The rain give continuously and the water' (67)

Only example (67) (i) has a reciprocal meaning and is also grammatically correct since both the subject and object nouns have a semantic feature [animate]. All the other examples where either the subject or the object has a [-animate] semantic feature are unacceptable.

(b) Subjects in the Plural

Sentences with plural subjects are fully deceptable when both the subject and objects have an [animate] semantic feature.

(i) Abafazi banikana nabantwana

The women SC give + REC and the children

'The women and children give each other'

(ii)* Abafazi banikana nomsebenzi

The women SC give + REC and the work

"The women give continuously and the work'

(iii)* Iimvula zinikana nabantu

The rains SC give + REC and people

'The rains give continuously and the people'

(iv)* Iimvula zinikana namanzi

The rains SC give + REC and water

'The rains give continuously and the water'(68)

Sentence (68) (i) above can also be ambiguous i.e. the subject and the object can be co-ordinated:

i) Abafazi nabantwana bayanikana

The women and the children SC they give + REC

'The women and the children give each other'

BUT ii)* Abafazi nomsebenzi bayanikana

The women and the work SC - they give + REC

'The women and the work give each other'

In (68) (i) both the subject and the object have a semantic feature [animate] hence the sentence is reciprocal and grammatically acceptable.

In (68) (ii) the object has a semantic feature [-animate] hence the sentence is unacceptable.

B: WITH NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

(a) Subjects in the Singular

In (69) below, are examples of reciprocal verbs with a NA complement, in addition to a nominal complement:

(i) Umfazi unikan ibhola nomntwana

The woman SC give + REC the ball and the child

'The woman and the child give each other a ball'

(ii) *Umfazi unikana ukutya nomsebenzi

The woman SC give + REC food and work

'The woman gives continuously the food and work'

(iii)*Imvula inikana amanzi nabantu

The rain SC give + REC water and people

'The rain gives continuously the water and people'

(iv) *Imvula inikana amanzi nodaka

The rain SC give + REC water and mud

'The rain gives continuously the water and the mud'(69)

Example (69) (i) can have a co-ordinated subject and object thus:

(i) Umfazi nomntwana banikana ibhola

The woman and the child SC give + REC the ball

'The woman and the child give each other a ball'

BUT

(ii) *Umfazi nomsebenzi banikana ukutya

The woman and the work SC give + REC food

'The woman and the work give each other food.'

Example (69) (ii) with an object with a [- animate] semantic feature is unacceptable. All the other examples with a subject and / or object with a [- animate] semantic feature are all unacceptable.

(b) Subjects in the Plural

Consider the same sentences with subjects in the plural:

(i) Abafazi banikana iibhola nabantwana

The women SC give + REC balls and children

'The women give each other balls and children'

The subject and object in (70) (i) above can be coordinated thus:

Abafazi nabantwana banikana iibhola

The women and the children SC give + REC the balls

'The women and the children give one another balls'

ii) Abafazi banikana ukutya nomsebenzi

The women SC give + REC food and work

'The women give each other food and work'

iii) *Iimvula zinikana amanzi nabantu

The rains SC give + REC water and people

'The rains and the people give each other water'

iv) *Iimvula zinikana amanzi nodaka

The rains SC give + REC water and mud

'The rains give continuously water and mud? (70)

Summary

- i) When both the subject and the object have an [animate] semantic feature, the sentence is reciprocal in meaning and grammatically acceptable.
- ii) When either the subject or the object has a [-animate] semantic feature, the sentence is neither reciprocal in meaning nor grammatically acceptable.

iii) In the sentences with nominal complements a number of issues are involved, for example:

a) Abstract nouns can be used.

a 1 Inkwenkwe ixelelana iindaba nentombi

The boy SC tell + REC a news and the girl

'The boy and the girl tell each other news'

a 2 Umfazi uxelelana ubuhle nentombi

The woman SC tell + REC beauty and the girl

'The woman and the girl tell each other's beauty'

b) Some sentences are ambiguous whereas others have co-ordinated NP's

iv) When the subjects are in the plural, when both the subject and the object have animate semantic features, the sentence becomes ambiguous, as in the above example (70):

(i) Abafazi banikana iibhola nabantwana

The women SC give + REC balls and children

'The women and the children give one another balls'

or 'The women give each other balls and children'

(ii) When the object noun has a semantic feature

[- animate] or abstract noun, the sentences are unambiguous with a cor-ordinated NP:

(iii) Abafazi banikana ukutya nomsebenzi

The women give each other food and work

- (iv) There is a difference between the preposition NA in ANA, and the conjunct NA in co-ordination, for example:

(a) Abafazi banikana iibhola nabantwana

The women and the children give each other balls

The women and the children

Abafazi nabantwana

- (b) NA in co-ordination is a conjunction, in the examples above, and in the examples in (iii) (a i) and (a 2)

- (c) NA is a preposition in such sentences as :

Utitshala udlala nanabantwana

The teacher SC play with the children

'The teacher plays with the children'

- (d) NA is also ambiguous. Consider the following examples:

Indoda ibulala ibhokhwe nenja

The man SC kill the goat and the dog

'The man kills the goat and the dog'

'The man and the dog kill the goat'

3.5.4 Reciprocal Verbs with Infinitives

(a) With an Object

Consider the following examples:

- (i) *Abantu baxelelana iindaba ukuya komkhulu

The people SC tell + REC a news to go-to the great place'

'The people tell each other news to go to the great place'

- (ii) *Abakhi banikana izitena ukwakha indlu

The builders SC give + REC bricks to build a house

'The builders give each other bricks to build a house'

(71)

(b) Without an Object

- (i) *Abantu baxelelana ukuya komkhulu

The people SC tell + REC to go to the great place

'The people tell each other to go to the great place'

- (ii) *Abakhi banikana ukwakha indlu.

The builders SC give + REC to build a house

'The builders give each other to build a house'

(72)

Summary

- (i) The above examples in (71) and (72) are not accepted in Xhosa.
Usually it is said:

(a) Abantu baxelelana ngokuya komkhulu

The people SC tell + REC going to the great place

'The people tell each other about going to the great place'

(b) Abakhi baxelelana ngokwakha indlu

The builders SC tell + REC building a house

'The builders tell each other about going to the great place'

(c) Abantu baxelelana iindaba zokuya komkhulu

The people SC tell + REC a news about the great place

'The people tell each other news about going to the great place'

(d) Abakhi banikana izitena zokwakha indlu

The builders SC give + REC bricks to build a house

'The builders give each other bricks for building a house'

This shows that infinitive may not be used with an object.

It can be used with a possessive - a.

- (ii) In general structures like the following are not allowed in Xhosa:

VERB + NP + INFINITIVE

- (a) *Ndifuna [imali] [ukuthenga impahla]

I need - money - to buy - clothes

'I need some money to buy clothes'

Instead the following structure is used:

VERB + NP

This NP has the structure : NP S, with the possessive a added transformationally.

- (b) Ndifuna [imali yokuthenga impahla]

I need money - for buying - clothes

'I need some money for buying clothes'

Summary

- i) Infinitives need a possessive a when used in reciprocal sentences.
- ii) Infinitives generally may not follow objects.
- iii) Without objects they still need to be preceded by a preposition:

Abantu baxelelana ngokuya komkhulu

People are telling each other about going to the great place'

- iv) This structure V + NP + INF is disallowed as the infinitives must be linked to the noun.

Ndifuna imali yokuthenga impahla

'I need some money for buying the clothes'

3.5.5 Reciprocal Verbs with NGA Complements

a) Without an Object

Consider the following examples:

(i) Aba bantu banikana ngezandla

These people SC give + REC by hands

'These people give each other by means of hands'

(ii) La makhwenkwe axelelana iindaba ngemilomo

These boys SC tell + REC by mouths.

'These boys tell each other by means of mouths'

(iii)* Amaza anikana ngamandla

The waves SC give + REC by force

'The waves give each other forcefully'(73)

The examples in (66) above show that reciprocal verbs with NGA complement are grammatically acceptable in the plural with animate semantic feature subjects. The [- animate] subjects yield grammatically unacceptable sentences.

(b) With an Object

(i) Aba bantu banikana ukutya ngezandla

These people SC-tell + REC - food by hands

'These people give each other food by means of hands'

(ii) La makhwenkwe axelelana iindaba ngemilomo

These boys SC-tell + REC - news by mouths

'These boys tell each other news by means of mouths'

The only problem encountered concerns [- animate] subjects, otherwise there is no problem with [animate] subjects when dealing with verbs with a NGA complement, with and without an object.

3.5.6 Reciprocal Verbs with Locative Complements

Consider the examples in (75) below:

(i) Aba bantu banikana endlwini

These people SC give + REC in the house

'These people give each other in the house'

ii) La makhwenkwe axelelana esikolweni

These boys SC tell + REC at school

'These boys tell each other at school'

iii) *Amaza anikana elwandle

The waves SC give + REC at sea

'The waves give each other at school'

iv) *Oonomathotholo baxelelana ekhaya

The radios SC tell + REC at home

'The radios tell each other at home'

v) La makhwenkwe axelelana iindaba esikolweni

These boys SC tell + REC a news at school

'These boys tell each other a news at school'

vi) Aba bantu banikana ukutya endlwini

These people SC give + REC food in the house

'These people give each other food in the house' (75)

The problem concerns only [- animate] subjects like (68) (iii) and (iv).

3.5.7 Summary of 3.5.1 - 3.5.6

In double object verbs, the following are observed:

- i) Reciprocal verbs with subjects in the singular are generally excluded since such sentences are grammatically not acceptable and do not have a reciprocal meaning. This means the subjects must be in the plural or conjoined, since the action is always mutual.
- ii) Sentences with subjects in the plural are reciprocal and grammatically acceptable with animate subjects.
- iii) There is a problem even with sentences containing plural subjects where the semantic feature of such a subject is [- animate].
- iv) Reciprocal verbs with a NA complement are unacceptable with [- animate] subjects and the singular form.
- v) In sentences with nominal complements abstract nouns can be used.

- vi) Body parts are not acceptable
- vii) Some sentences are ambiguous and some have co-ordinated NPs
- viii) Sentences become ambiguous when both the subject and the object have an animate plural subject.
- ix) Reciprocal verbs with a NGA complement and animate subjects are grammatically acceptable.
- x) Locative complements with [-animate] subjects are unacceptable.

3.6 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs are verbs which govern no NP. These verbs cannot take any object and form a very limited group in Xhosa.

These verbs do not allow -ANA-

(i) *Abantwana bayalilana

The children SC - cry + REC

'These children cry each other'

ii) *Abantwana bayahlalana

The children SC - sit + REC

'The children sit each other' (76)

3.6.1 Reciprocal Verbs Only

(a) Subjects in the Singular

Consider the following examples:

- (i) *Intombi iyezana

The girl SC come + REC

'The girl comes after each other'

- (ii) *Incwadi iyezana

The book SC come + REC

'The book comes after each other' (77)

Singular subjects produce sentences which are unacceptable, as in (77) above.

(b) Subjects in the Plural

With some plural subjects the verbs *za* and *ya* may be used with -AN-. The meanings of such verbs are however very idiosyncratic and idiomatic, considering that these two verbs are verbs of motion. Consider sentences (71) below:

- (i) Ezi ntombi ziyezana

These girls SC come + REC

'These girls come after each other by birth'

- (ii) Abazali bayana nezithethe zakudala

The parents SC believe + REC norms - long ago

'The parents still believe in long ago norms'

Nevertheless problems are encountered when the subject has a semantic feature [-animate] e.g.

(iii)*Ezi ncwadi ziyezana

These books SC - come + REC

'These books come after each other'

(iv)* Iincwadi ziyana nezifundo zakudala

The books SC believe + REC studies long ago

'The books still believe in long ago studies'(78)

3.6.2 Reciprocal Verbs with Object/Nominal Complements

Consider the following examples:

(i) * Intombi izana ubudala inkwenkwe.

The girl SC come + REC age the boy

'The girls age comes after the boys'

(ii) *Intombi izana ubudala incwadi

The girl SC come + REC age the book

'The girl's age comes after the books'

(iii)*Incwadi izana ubudala intombi

The book SC come + REC age the girl

'The book's age comes after the girl's'

iv) *Incwadi izana ubudala usiba

The book SC come + REC - age the pen

'The book's age comes after the pen's'

Summary

- a) Intransitive verbs in reciprocal form are grammatically unacceptable both with singular and /or plural forms.
- b) Subjects and/ or objects with a semantic feature [animate] or [- animate] are disallowed with reciprocal affixes in intransitive verbs.
- c) They also do not take objects and nominal complements.

3.6.3 + NA Complements

(a) Without an Object

Consider the following examples:

(i) Inkwenkwe izana nentombi

The boy SC come + REC and the girl

'The boy comes after the girl by birth'

(ii) *Intombi izana nencwadi

The girl SC come + REC and the book

'The girl comes after the book'

(iii)*Incwadi izana nentombi

The book SC come + REC and the girl

'The book comes after the girl'

(iv) *Incwadi izana nosiba

The book SC come + REC the pen

'The book comes after the pen' (80)

(b) **With an Object**

(i)*Intombi izana iminyaka nenkwenkwe

The girl SC come + REC age and the boy

'The girl and the boy's age come after each other'

(ii) *Intombi izana ubudala nencwadi

The girl SC come + REC age and the book

'The girl and the book's age come after each other'

(iii)*Incwadi izana ubudala nentombi

The book SC come + REC age and the girl

'The book's oldness comes after the girls'

(iv) *Iincwadi zizana ubudala neentsiba

The books SC come + REC age and pens

'The books and the pen's oldness come after each other'

- a) Intransitive verbs with NA complements are not accepted in the reciprocal form in Xhosa both in the singular and plural form.
- b) Both [animate] and [-animate] semantic features are unacceptable.
- c) Only [animate] subjects and objects in the same sentence are grammatically acceptable.

3.6.4 + Infinitives

Intransitive verbs in the reciprocal form disallow infinitival complements, hence the examples in (74) below are grammatically unacceptable:

(i) *Ezi ntombi zizana ukukhula

These girls SC come + REC to grow up

'These girls come after each other to grow up'

(ii) *Iincwadi zizana ukufundwa

These books SC come + REC to be read

'These books come after each other to be read' (81)

3.6.5 + NGA Complements

Reciprocal sentences with locative complements are grammatically acceptable when the subjects have an animate semantic feature, but

unacceptable when the subjects have an [-animate] semantic feature like the sentences below:

(i) Ezi ntombi zizana ngeminyaka

These girls SC come + REC by years

'These girls come after each other by years'

(ii) *Iincwadi zizana ngobudala

The books SC come + REC by oldness

'The books come after each other by oldness'

(iii) *Ezi ntombi zizana ubudala ngeminyaka

These girls SC come + REC - age by years

'These book's years in oldness come after each other'

(82)

3.6.6. + Locative Complements

Reciprocal verbs with locative complements are grammatically acceptable in sentences whose subjects have [animate] semantic feature, but unacceptable when the subject has a [-animate] semantic feature.

Consider the examples below:

(i) Ezi ntombi zizana ebudaleni

These girls SC come + REC in age

'These girls come after each other in age'

(ii) Ezi ntombi zizana iminyaka ebudaleni

These girls SC come + REC years in age

'These girl's years come after each other in age'

(iii) *Iincwadi zizana ebudaleni

The books SC come + REC in oldness

'The books come after each other in oldness'

(iv) *Iincwadi zizana iminyaka ebudaleni

The books SC come + REC years in oldness

'The books come after each other in oldness'(83)

3.6.7 Summary of 3.6.1 - 3.6.6

In transitive verbs, in the reciprocal form, the problems below have been observed:

- i) Reciprocal sentences with subjects in the singular form are unacceptable in Xhosa.
- ii) Plural subjects with a animate semantic feature are grammatically acceptable
- iii) Plural subjects with [-animate] semantic features are grammatically unacceptable.
- iv) Intransitive verbs do not take objects, or nominal complements.

- v) NA complements are acceptable only when both the subject and the object have the semantic feature [animate].
- vi) Intransitive verbs in reciprocal form do not like infinitives.
- vii) Reciprocal verbs with locative complements are grammatically acceptable only when the subject has an animate semantic feature.

3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

To summarise, I have found the following concerning each complement of a reciprocal verb:

1. Reciprocal verbs with no complements

- (a) Reciprocal verbs may not have a singular subject without a complement:

*Inkwenkwe iyakhabana

'The boy kicks each other'

- (b) Reciprocal verbs usually occur with plural subjects:

Amakhwenkwe ayakhabana

'The boys kick one another'

- (c) The plural subjects have problems only with [-animate] subjects:

*Iipali ziyakhabana

The poles kick one another.

2. Reciprocal verbs with objects

Reciprocal verbs with objects must have subjects in the plural, with an animate semantic feature.

3. Reciprocal verbs with NA complements

- (a) Reciprocal verbs with a NA complement have an ambiguous meaning which ceases when the subject and object are put together to form a co-ordinated subject:

Inkomo ikhabana nedonki

The cow SC kicks + REC the donkey

'The cow kicks the donkey continuously'

'The cow and the donkey kick each other'

Co-ordinated : Inkomo nedonki ziyakhabana

'The cow and the donkey kick each other.'

- (b) Reciprocal verbs with NA- complement must have an animate semantic feature in their subjects and/or objects otherwise they may have a durative rather than a reciprocal meaning:

*Inkwenkwe ikhabana nebhola

The boy SC kicks + REC the ball

'The boy kicks the ball continuously'

- (c) In reciprocal verbs with NA complements, the nominal complement is not an object, but an adjunct of the verb:

Indoda ibonana ulunya nentombi

'The man and the girl see each others selfishness'

4. Reciprocal verbs with -NGA- complements

- (a) Reciprocal verbs readily take NGA complements with or without a nominal adjunct:

Abantwana babonana ngamehlo

'Children see one another by means of eyes'

Abantwana babonana ubuhle ngamehlo

'Children see each other's beauty by means of eyes'

- (b) There is a problem only with [-animate] subjects:

*Amaza abonana ngamehlo

'The waves see each other by means of eyes'

*Amaza abonana ubuhle ngamehlo

'The waves see each other's beauty by means of eyes'

5. Reciprocal verbs with infinitives

- (a) Reciprocal verbs do not seem to like infinitives with a complement or object:

Aba bantwana babonana ukusebenza

'These children see each other's working'

*Aba bantwana babonana umdla ukusebenza

'These children see each other's keenness to work'

- (b) The nominal infinitives have the following problems:

(i) It cannot take a clitic

(ii) It cannot be moved in passives

Therefore, the nominal infinitives are adjuncts of the verb.

6. Reciprocal verbs with locative complements

- (a) In reciprocal verbs with locative complements the only problem is with [- animate] subjects, otherwise all the others are acceptable.
- (b) It is clear that the NGA complement and the locative complement have no influence on -ANA verbs, they have problems only with [- animate] nouns.
- (c) The other complements seem to have some influence on -ANA- verbs. They fall under the constraint that Xhosa reciprocal sentences must have subjects in the plural or must be conjoined. This means they have problems with subjects in the singular, as these cannot be reciprocal.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

4.1 SYNTAX

4.1.1 Reciprocal Verbs only : Transitive Verbs

Generally transitive verbs with reciprocal offices may not have a singular subject without a complement, for example:

i)* UAnda uyakhabana

Anda SC - kick + REC

'Anda kicks one another'

It is only when the subjects which belong to singular classes have a semantic reading of mass nouns that they work well with reciprocal verbs without a complement:

ii) Usapho luyabizana

Members of this family SC call + REC

'Members of this family call one another'

Transitive verbs with subjects in the plural have no problem except with [-animate] subjects:

iii) Ezi zinja ziyabonana

These dogs SC they see + REC

'These dogs see each other'

iv) Iipali ziyakhabana

The poles SC they kick + REC

'The poles kick each other' (84)

4.1.2 Reciprocal verbs only - Double-object verbs

Reciprocal verbs with subjects in the singular are unacceptable:

i) *Ibhanki iyabolekana

The bank SC - lend + REC

'The bank is lending each other'

In the plural they work well except when the subjects have a [- animate] semantic feature.

ii) Aba bantu bayanikana

These people SC - give + REC

'These people are giving one another' (85)

4.1.3 Reciprocal verbs only - Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs do not allow -AN-

i) * Abantwana bayalilana

The children SC they - cry + REC

'The children cry one another'

ZA and YA may be used with -AN- with a very idiosyncratic and idiomatic meaning.

ii) Ezi ntombi ziyezana

These girls SC - come + REC

'These girls come after each other by birth'

Plural subjects with a semantic feature [-animate] are also not acceptable:

iii)* Ezi ncwadi ziyezana

These books SC- come + REC

'These books come after one another' (86)

(a) In all three types of verbs, i.e. transitive, double object and intransitive verbs, singular subjects without a complement are unacceptable.

(b) In transitive and double object verbs plural subjects have no problem except [- animate] subjects.

(c) Intransitive verbs are different in that only the verbs of motion, YA and ZA can be used in reciprocals, and with idiomatic meaning only.

4.2 RECIPROCAL VERBS WITH OBJECTS

Transitive verbs with objects are not acceptable with singular subjects whether the subject has an animate or a [- animate] semantic feature:

i)* Indoda ibonana iinwele

The man SC - see + REC the hair

'The man sees the hair continuously'

ii)* Indlu ibonana uthanda

The house SC - see + REC - a crack

'The house sees a crack continuously' (87)

When the subjects are in the plural, only those with [- animate] semantic feature are unacceptable:

i) Amantombazana abonana iinwele

The girls SC - see + REC the hair

'The girls see one another's hair

ii)* Izindlu zibonana iintanda

The houses SC - see + REC the cracks

'The houses see each other's cracks'

Transitive reciprocal verbs with objects in Xhosa are acceptable only in the plural with an animate semantic feature.

But, in sentences with a [- animate] adjunct, for example:

iii) Amantombazana abonana ubuhle

The girls SC see + REC beauty

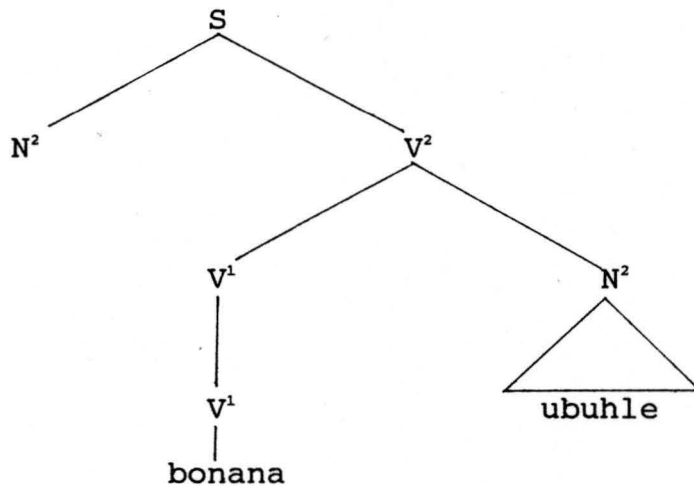
'The girls see each other's beauty'

Ubuhle cannot have a clitic or be moved in passives,
for example:

iv)* Amadoda ayabubonana ubuhle

v)* Ubuhle bubonanwa ngamadoda.

Both sentences are incorrect. Therefore ubuhle is not an object but an adjunct of the verb with this structure:



4.2.1 Reciprocal Verbs with - NA - Complements

Sentences in the singular are unacceptable when the subject has an
[-animate] semantic feature.

i)* Ibhola ikhabana nenkwenkwe

The ball SC kick + REC with the boy

'The ball kicks the boy continuously'

Sentences with plural subjects are grammatically acceptable and reciprocal when both the subject and the object have an animate semantic feature.

ii) UMzingisi ukhabana noKhaya

Mzingisi SC kick + REC - Khaya

'Mzingisi and Khaya kick one another'

Even when the subject and object form a co-ordinated subject, the sentence remains grammatically acceptable and reciprocal".

iii) UMzingisi noKhaya bayakhabana

Mzingisi and Khaya SC kick + REC

Mzingisi and Khaya kick each other' (88)

In reciprocal verbs with nominal complements the above explanation also applies in case of [-animate] subjects and/or objects. The fact that *ubuhle* is not an object but an adjunct explains why it cannot be moved in passives:

i)* Indoda iyabubonana ubuhle nentombi

ii)* Ubuhle bubonanwa yindoda nentombi

The examples below show the problem with objects which have [-animate] semantic features.

i) Indoda ibonana ubuhle nentombi

The man SC see + REC beauty and the girl

'The man and the girl see each other's beauty'

ii) Intombi ibonana ubuhle nendlu.

The girl SC see + REC beauty the house.

'The girl and the house see each other's beauty'

4.2.2 Reciprocal Verbs with Infinitives

Consider the following reciprocal verbs with infinitives:

i)* Aba bantwana babonana ukusebenza

These children SC see + REC to work

'These children see each other's working'

ii)* Aba bantwana babonana umdla ukusebenza

These children SC see + REC keenness to work

'These children see each other's keenness to work'

(89)

This infinitive is a nominal infinitive appearing as an adjunct, therefore it cannot co-occur with a clitic and cannot be moved in passives, for example:

a)* Aba bantwana bayakubonana ukusebenza

b)* Ukusebenza kubonanwa ngabantwana

c)* Abantwana babulalana [ukufumana ilifa]

4.2.3 Reciprocal Verbs with -NGA- Complements

Sentences containing a subject with a [-animate] semantic feature are unacceptable.

i)* Amaza abonana ngamehlo

The waves SC see + REC with eyes

'The waves see each other by means of eyes'.

ii) Abantu babonana ngamehlo

People SC - see + REC with eyes

'People see each other by means of eyes' (90)

4.2.4 Reciprocal Verbs with Locative Complements

Reciprocal verbs with locative complements have problems only when the subject has a semantic feature a [- animate]. If it is the object which has a [- animate] semantic feature, there is no problem:

- i) Amakhwenkwe abonana ehlathini
 The boys SC see + REC in the forest
 The boys see each other in the forest'

- ii)* Amaza abonana elwandle
 The waves SC see + REC at sea
 'The waves see each other at sea'

4.3 RECIPROCAL VERBS WITH NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS

Reciprocal verbs with nominal complements must have a subject in the plural with an animate semantic feature:

- i) Abafazi banikana abantwana
 The women SC give + REC the children
 'The women give one another children'.

BUT ii)* Umfazi unikana umntwana

The woman SC give + REC the child

'The woman gives continuously the child'

iii)* Oonomathotholo baxelelana iindaba

The radios SC tell + REC a news

'The radios tell continuously a news'

4.3.1 Reciprocal Verbs with - NA - Complements

Both the subject and the object must be in the plural with an animate semantic feature:

i) Abafazi banikana nabantwana

The women SC give + REC and the children

'The women and the children give each other'

BUT ii)* Abafazi banikana nomsebenzi

The women SC - give + REC and the work

'The women give work continuously'

NA ia also ambiguous. It can have different meanings:

iii) Indoda ibulalana ibhokwe nenja

The man SC kill + REC a goat and a dog

'The man kills continuously a goat and a dog'

'The man and the dog kill the goat' (93)

4.3.2 Reciprocal Verbs with Infinitives

Infinitive may not be used with an object:

i)* Ndifuna imali ukuthenga impahla

SC need - money - to buy - clothes

'I need some money to buy clothes'

ii)* Abantu baxelelana iindaba ukuya komkhulu

The people SC tell + REC news to go to the great place.

'The people tell each other news to go to the great place' (94)

4.3.3 Reciprocal Verbs with - NGA - Complements

Reciprocal verbs with NGA-complements are acceptable in the plural with animate subjects, with or without an object.

i) Aba bantu banikana ngezandla

These people SC give + REC by hands

'These people give each other by means of hands'

ii) Aba bantu banikana ukutya ngezandla

These people SC-give + REC food by hands

'These people give each other food by means of hands'

BUT iii)* Amaza anikana ngamandla

The waves SC give + REC by force

'The waves give each other forcefully' (95)

4.3.4 Reciprocal Verbs with Locative Complements

Reciprocal verbs with animate subjects in the plural are acceptable:

i) Aba bantu banikana endlwini

These people SC give + REC in the house

'These people give each other in the house'

ii)* Amaza anikana elwandle

The waves SC give + REC of sea

'The waves give each other at sea'

iii) La makhwenkwe axelelana iindaba esikolweni

The boys SC tell + REC a news at school

'The boys tell each other a news at school'

4.4 RECIPROCAL VERBS WITH OBJECT/NOMINAL COMPLEMENT

Intransitive verbs do not occur in reciprocal sentences, with singular and/or plural subjects, whether the subject and/or object has an animate or [-animate] semantic feature. They do not take objects, and/or nominal complements:

i)* Intombi izana inkwenkwe

The girl SC come + REC the boy

'The girl comes after the boy by birth'

ii)* Intombi izana ubudala inkwenkwe

The girl SC come + REC the boy

'The girls age comes after the boy's'

iii)* Incwadi izana ubudala usiba

The book SC come + REC age the pen

'The book's age comes after the pen's'

4.4.1 + NA Complements

Only sentences containing animate subjects and objects are acceptable, otherwise intransitive verbs with NA complement are not acceptable in Xhosa whether in the singular or plural form, and whether they have an animate or [-animate] semantic feature:

i) Inkwenkwe izana nentombi

The boy SC come + REC and the girl

'The boy comes after the girl by birth'

ii)* Intombi izana nencwadi

The girl SC come + REC and the book

'The girl comes after the book'

iii)* Iincwadi zizana neentombi

The books SC come + REC the girl

'The books come after the girl' (98)

4.4.2 Infinitives

Intransitive verbs in the reciprocal form do not occur with infinitives:

i)* Ezi ntombi zizana ukukhula

These girls SC come + REC to grow up

'These girls come after each other to grow up'

ii)* Iincwadi zizana ukufundwa

The books SC come + REC to be read

'The books come after each other to be read'

(99)

4.4.3 + NGA Complements

Reciprocal verbs with NGA complements must have a subject with animate semantic features in order to be grammatically acceptable in Xhosa :

i) Ezi ntombi zizana ngeminyaka

These girls SC come + REC by years

'These girls come after each other by years'

ii)* Iincwadi zizana ngobudala

The books SC-come + REC by oldness

'The books come after each other by oldness' (100)

4.4.4 + Locative Complements

Reciprocal verbs with locative complements must have a subject with an animate semantic feature:

i) Ezi ntombi zizana ebudaleni

These girls SC come + REC in age

'These girls come after each other in age'

ii)* Iincwadi zizana ebudaleni

The books SC come + REC in oldness

'The books come after each other in oldness'

(101)

The above examples seem to indicate that:

(a) The three types of verbs, transitive, double object and intransitive have common features in the following aspects:

4.4.5 Summary of 4.1.1 - 4.4.4

- i) Generally with all these verbs the subjects are grammatically and reciprocally acceptable when they are in the plural, with an animate semantic feature.
- ii) Reciprocal verbs with objects must have subjects in the plural with an animate semantic feature in transitive and double object verbs. Intransitive verbs do not accept reciprocal affixes whether the subject has an animate semantic feature or not.
- iii) With NA complement in all three verbs there is no problem only when both the subject and object have an animate semantic feature.
- iv) Intransitive verbs do not like infinitives at all.

4.5 SEMANTICS OF -AN-

4.5.1 Main Hypothesis

The reciprocal suffix-AN- adds different semantic features on to the verb. The following semantic features will show the difference.

A: RECIPROCAL

In reciprocal a meaning of 'mutual relationship' is expressed, for example:

Ndinikana nawe ibhola

SC - give + REC - you the ball

'You and I are giving each other the ball'

(102)

B: ASSOCIATIVE

The associative indicates an action that is done together by two or more persons, for example:

Amakhwenkwe namantombazana aqokelelene eholweni

The boys and the girls SC - assemble + REC in the hall

'The boys and the girls have assembled together in the hall' (103)

C: DURATIVE

The subject is engaged in a process in a continuous manner, for example:

Lo mfazi uthathana nemali yam

This woman SC take + REC - money - mine

'This woman continuously take my money' (104)

D: INTENSIFICATION

This denotes progressive increase or intensification, for example:

Isidumbu siyavuthelana

The carcase SC swell + REC

'The carcase is continuously swelling' (105)

E: ACTING TOGETHER

This denotes acting together or communally on the part of two or more people, for example:

UThandi noMonwabisi bayasebenzisana kule lali

Thandi and Monwabisi SC - work + REC in this location

'Thandi and Monwabisi work together continuously in this location' (106)

F: AGGREGATE

-ANA- has a common function of indicating an aggregate, combining to form a compact, solid cohesive or united body:

Aba bantu bamanyene

These people SC - united + REC

'These people are united' (107)

4.5.2 Second Hypothesis

The semantic features shown above can only be interpreted in context. Each and every verb has'nt got all the features identified above. To prove which features a verb has got depends on its context. It cannot be clear until the verb is used in a sentence. Some can be ambiguous, continuous or reciprocal. Hence the examples in the sentences above show the differences. The following sentences will show the ambiguity referred to:

i) UMonwabisi ubethana noThandi

Monwabisi SC - beat + REC and Thandi

'Monwabisi and Thandi beat each other [Reciprocal]

or

'Monwabisi beats Thandi continuously [Durative]

ii) Ndinikana nawe ibhola

SC give + REC you the ball

'You and I are giving each other the ball
[Reciprocal]

or

'I am giving you the ball continuously [Durative]

(108)

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